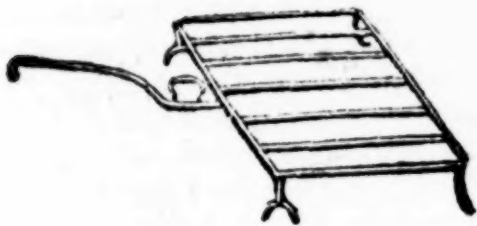


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THE BIRMINGHAM REGISTER.

BIRMINGHAM DEBATE, OR RAGS AGAINST GOLD,

At Birmingham, on the 28th and 29th
August, 1832.

Barton, Staffordshire, 31st Aug., 1832.

THIS has become a matter of very great public importance ; it has elicited views and facts very interesting in themselves, and very useful to be communicated to the public at this time. It was not the triumph over a political adversary that I sought ; it was not to show off in a speech before the people of BIRMINGHAM ; but it was to make this subject attract the attention of the whole country, that induced me to avail myself of the fair pretence for inviting the BIRMINGHAM " COUNCIL " to a public discussion. The same motive now induces me to give a full account of the speeches upon this occasion. I do not mean a *full report*. Messrs. ATTWOOD and JONES spoke *seven hours and a half*, if not *eight hours* ; I myself two hours : so that to give a report of these speeches anything like *verbatim*, would require a space equal to that contained in an octavo volume of about *six hundred pages* ! One cannot help stopping here to express admiration of the unparalleled patience of this people. Indeed, they have been pretty well *disciplined* to it for a long time. As far as the principal of my opponents was concerned ; as far as related to Mr. ATTWOOD's *six hours and a half*, it was *nothing new* to them, but at any rate the patience and

good manners of this audience were such as to reflect the greatest honour upon the people of BIRMINGHAM ; it was impossible for me to sit and look at them without being convinced that England is in no danger of being sunk by the folly or the baseness of any set of rulers ; it being evident that the people have the sense and the steadiness to take their own affairs into their own hands, if need be ; to put things to rights themselves if the dire necessity should arise ; and not, like the brave, but too hasty and too thoughtless, French, to be deluded by a sound, first to shed each other's blood, and then to submit to be robbed and really enslaved by bands of villains calling themselves "*public creditors*," having at their head the greediest of all usurers upon the earth, with hordes of armed myrmidons ready to send the bayonet to the hearts of the people to uphold that which they have the audacity to call "*national faith*."

The meeting took place in a room about a hundred feet long and thirty feet wide ; very well provided with benches upon the level of the floor, there being, for the convenience of the speakers, a place, at one end, raised to about five feet high. This place was absolutely filled ; and we know, by the money that was taken, that there were at the least *rather more than fourteen hundred persons*. That good order should be preserved in so large an assembly is quite astonishing ; and certain it is, that such a spectacle was never yet seen, except in England, or in the United States of America. A French gentleman who went with me once to the Rotunda in London, expressed his wonder at seeing a thousand people perfectly silent for an hour or two. It is a thing highly honourable to our character ; and it is that character which has preserved us from being brought to utter ruin and slavery, by the stupid and tyrannical men who have, at times, been invested with the power of ruling us.

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I think it proper to observe here, on the circumstance of my having insisted upon money being taken. Messrs, ATTWOOD and JONES, in their acceptance of my invitation, have a sort of *fling* at my having made this a part of my condition. But, laying aside all the other very sufficient reasons for my doing this, there was one which became visible to every person present at this meeting; for, long before the first speech was begun, every one saw, that if the doors had been flung open to the public, and every one permitted to enter without any payment, the whole must instantly have ended in confusion. There were more than a thousand persons at every moment of the time ready to rush in. I should have been willing, and glad to have had the price of admission, *sixpence* or *threepence*, in order to have admitted a great body of working men; but I knew that it was impossible to do it, and to have anything like a peaceable discussion. I tried this the other day at HORSHAM in Sussex. Some gentlemen there got a very large school-room on the ground-floor, well furnished with benches. The whole of the population of the place, men, women, and children, is only 4,575. I thought I might safely venture to refrain from using the check of taking money: the place was on the ground floor, singularly commodious, and standing out upon a little piece of ground distant from all other buildings. It would conveniently contain five or six hundred persons; yet, it was so crammed, the strife was so great, the angry passions so sturdily at work, that it required all my address, joined to the exertion of all my authority of manner, and all the respect which the whole of these southern chopsticks bear towards me; it required all these to prevent acts of violence, and, indeed, to prevent the numerous windows of the school-house from being dashed in by those who could not enter, the general cry on the outside being, "*We have as much right to go in as they have.*" This was very true. By my manner of managing the thing, I prevented mischief; but if this was the case in the little town of HOR-

SHAM, what was to have been expected in the town of Birmingham, and that, too, when there was going to be a trial of strength between their CICERO and me! In short, without the taking of the shilling, there could have been no discussion; and, therefore, my opponents might have spared their *fling*. Before I conclude this *Register*, I shall give a curious account of what was done with the money; but I will just mention here, that I having, in calling Mr. JONES to order, observed, that I had not come to Birmingham to listen to an essay on the theory of money, a person who, I was told, was one of Mr. ATTWOOD's clerks, called out, "But you are come to Birmingham to take *money*." I instantly answered, "If I could *make* money I would not take *money*." The allusion was caught by the meeting at once, and the confusion of the understrapping *rag-man* was lost sight of in the general laugh that ensued.

I now proceed to the speech of Mr. Attwood, which, as I said before, occupied, as nearly as possible, *four hours* and *twenty minutes*, the last hour, or more, by candle-light, when an adjournment to two o'clock next day took place. Mr. ATTWOOD has the reputation of being, in all his private relationship, a most excellent man. In the neighbourhood in which he lives, he is said to be universally beloved by the working people. I believe him to be perfectly sincere in his wishes to see his country great and prosperous; and particularly to see the industrious and laborious part of the community duly remunerated for their care and their toil. If I were tempted to speak of him disparagingly, I should always feel myself checked by the remembrance of that PETITION which came up from BIRMINGHAM in such good time in favour of the condemned labourers of HAMPSHIRE and WILTSHIRE, which was signed by him, and by this very Mr. JONES; which certainly had the effect of saving some scores of lives, which actually put a stop to the shedding of the blood of those labourers, and which was a subject of *censure* in the reported

speech of DENMAN of the 8th of May, 1831.

Having said this of Mr. ATTWOOD, and wishing it to be applied also to Mr. JONES, and wishing the reader to be pleased always to bear it in mind; and I being ready to acknowledge, also, that the POLITICAL COUNCIL, *up to the month of April last*, rendered very great services to the country upon the subject of parliamentary reform; ungrudgingly stating all this, and wishing it to be borne in mind by my readers, I must be permitted to speak very freely of what I deem to be the errors and frailties of Mr. ATTWOOD, and especially of his efforts upon this occasion, which sink so very far below that which I myself had anticipated, that it is impossible for me, in describing them, to do justice to the lowness of my opinion of his knowledge with regard to the matters which were the subject of discussion. A general description of his first speech is all that I can possibly give, and all that the reader would endure; and before I give that I must deal a little in narrative.

On the 30th of July last, (I beg the reader to attend to dates,) there appeared in the *Morning Chronicle*, an address from the BIRMINGHAM COUNCIL to Lord GREY, as first Lord of the Treasury, advising him to return to paper-money, making it a *legal tender* to a certain extent, and to do this *secretly* and *suddenly*, so that nobody might be apprised of what was going to take place. Out of this address sprang this "BIRMINGHAM DEBATE." I wished for an opportunity to proclaim, in a very signal manner, my abhorrence of this recommendation to my Lord GREY; and reading in the *Birmingham Journal* that a speech had been made in the COUNCIL, in refutation of my doctrines on the subject, I availed myself of that as the ground of the INVITATION which produced this DEBATE. Before, therefore, I proceed to speak of the speech of Mr. ATTWOOD, I must lay this memorable address before the reader; because, as he will find, the whole of the discussion ought to have turned upon this ADDRESS. This address, then, was

in the following words, bearing date *in the month of October last*, though not published (for curious reasons which will appear by-and-by) until the 30th day of July in this year.

To the Right Hon. Earl Grey, First Lord of his Majesty's Treasury, &c.,

The Memorial of the Undersigned, forming the Council of the Birmingham Political Union,

Respectfully sheweth,

1. That your memorialists think it their duty to represent to your Lordship, that, for the last six years, a generally increasing state of depression and distress has existed throughout all the manufacturing and commercial districts of the United Kingdom.

2. That this state of depression and distress still continues to increase; and your memorialists seriously apprehend that, unless remedial measures are adopted, a period is rapidly approaching, in which the operations of industry, from the loss and ruin attending them, must be generally suspended throughout the country.

3. That your memorialists have good reason to believe, that no branch of industry exists in the United Kingdom, in which the prudent employment of labour is attended with any fair and reasonable profit; and they have equal reason to believe, that in almost every branch of industry, a positive loss has attended the employment of labour for several years past, and does now attend such employment; and your memorialists think it their duty to represent to your Lordship, that unless this state of things can be altered, general convulsion and disorganization of society will become inevitable.

4. That your memorialists attribute this distressing and alarming state of things to the general contraction of the credit currency of the country; which has been effected by the unjust and impolitic attempt in which the legislature has been vainly engaged since the year 1819, to render all the paper taxes, tithes, rents, debts, and obligations of the country convertible by law into gold, at the ancient and unsuitable standard of 3*l.* 17*s.* 10*d.* per ounce.

5. That by this destructive and most unjust attempt, the prices of commodities are beaten down within the grasp and of the fixed charges and moneyed expenses attending their production; and thus the reward of industry is destroyed, and the population of the country are, in a great degree, either deprived of employment or of the fair wages of their labour, or are otherwise supported for awhile by the sacrifice of the capital of their employers.

6. That notwithstanding the general and ruinous depression in the prices of property and labour which has been thus effected, such depression of prices has not yet been sufficient

to prevent the gold coins from being exported to foreign countries; and your memorialists are informed and believe, that a very large exportation of gold coins has taken place within the last twelve months, and does still continue to take place, thereby forcing a still further reduction in the already ruinous prices of commodities and labour throughout the kingdom.

7. That in order to meet and prevent this exportation of the gold coins the Bank of England has been induced to make a very considerable reduction of its notes, thereby further reducing the wages of labour, and the prices of commodities, and increasing the deficiency of money at the very period when the issues of bank notes ought to have been increased in order to remedy it; and in this way it is the great and vital interests of the country are sacrificed to the restoration of an antiquated standard of value, which is neither just, suitable, nor practicable, under the existing state of society in England.

8. That whilst the profits of industry are thus annihilated, and whilst the wages of labour are thus beaten down, and every labourer in the kingdom is injured, humbled, and degraded; whilst the labourer is thus deprived of employment on the one hand, and reduced in his wages on the other; in this painful and degrading state of things, the prices of food are artificially kept up by cruel and unjust corn-laws, without considering that before the poor man can be called upon to pay high prices for his food, it is necessary that the money should first be put into his pocket wherewith to pay them. Your memorialists earnestly solicit the attention of your Lordship to this great and crying error of legislation; an error which has not protected the agricultural classes from ruin, brought upon them by the fraudulent money laws of 1819, but which has done more to alienate the affections of the people from the Government, and from the upper classes of society than almost any other measure that was ever adopted by a British Parliament.

9. That your memorialists are informed that according to the last returns made to the House of Commons the circulation of Bank-of-England notes has been now reduced to about seventeen millions sterling at the termination of the quarter, which is the exact amount to which it was reduced by similar operations at the termination of the quarter in the momentous week preceding the panic of 1825.

10. That this serious reduction of the bank-note circulation, combined with a similar reduction of the gold coins of the country above alluded to, has already produced very large and alarming failures among the mercantile interest of Bristol, London, and other places, exactly in the same manner as similar failures were produced by similar reductions in the few weeks preceding the panic of 1825; and your memorialists cannot but anticipate either the recurrence of a catastrophe similar

to that which occurred in the close of 1825, and, perhaps, as fatal in its results, or such a general and progressive increase of national difficulties and embarrassments, as may prove totally destructive of the social system.

11. That your memorialists are exceedingly reluctant to intrude upon the weighty and anxious occupations of your Lordship, and they will not entertain a doubt that the reformed Parliament whenever it may assemble, will forthwith proceed to rectify evils of such a fearful and alarming magnitude as are here adverted to; but your memorialists apprehend that the sufferings and dangers of the country are too urgent to allow the prudent postponement of the means of relief until the reformed Parliament can assemble; and, therefore, your memorialists respectfully but most earnestly beg leave to recommend to your Lordship the adoption of the following preparatory measures, which they deem calculated to stay the increase of commercial and agricultural difficulties and embarrassments—to relieve the general distress which afflicts the industrious classes of the community—and to place the country in a condition of safety and of comparative ease and prosperity, until the reformed Parliament may have leisure to adopt definite and efficient measures.

I. The making of silver a standard of value and a legal tender, as it is in every other country in the world, and as it was in England, from the commencement of English history until the disastrous monetary measures of 1816 and 1819 were adopted.

II. The allowing of the Bank of England to issue 17. notes, and the making of Bank-of-England notes legal tenders from all persons whatever, except the Bank of England itself.

III. The inducing the Bank of England forthwith to issue the bank notes, which have been recently withdrawn from circulation, and to increase its circulation, permanently, from the present reduced amount of seventeen millions at the termination of the quarter, to at least twenty-five millions at the termination of the quarter, which in the opinion of your memorialists is the lowest amount under which the necessary profits of industry and the beneficial employment of labour throughout the country, can be restored and preserved.

12. That your memorialists apprehend that your Lordship must clearly foresee that a period is rapidly approaching in which this great subject must be grappled with, and in which it will be found absolutely necessary for Parliament either to adjust the monetary system of the country to the existing state of society, or otherwise to cut down the public and private burdens of society into conformity with the present monetary system; and your memorialists respectfully represent to your Lordship that in their opinion the latter process will be found to be utterly impracticable, and that if attempted it will result in universal anarchy; and your memorialists further respectfully suggest that it would be most unwise to

defer the decision of this great question until compelled by circumstances, the pressure of which will allow no time for reflection.

13. Your memorialists respectfully suggest to your Lordship the propriety of having a subject of this delicate and vital nature decided in the quiet deliberations of his Majesty's Government, without rendering its public discussion unavoidable throughout the country; for they cannot but apprehend that dangers of a very serious character may arise from its public discussion; and they greatly fear that the people would be driven to madness, if ever they should come to discover that all their misery and distress have been occasioned by an act of the legislature. And your memorialists apprehend that too many of them would come to the conclusion that such an act releases them from the duty of contributing to the taxation of the country, and of rendering obedience to laws which oppress and destroy the people, instead of defending and protecting them.

14. That it is the sincere wish of your memorialists, that when the reform of the Parliament is effected, the political excitement of the nation should cease; and if justice is done to the people, they are perfectly satisfied that it will cease. But this excitement, as your Lordship must well know, has grown out of the rooted wrongs and the hoarded injuries of many years; and it can only be allayed by a restoration of that permanent prosperity among the industrious classes, which the industrious classes have a right to expect from the hands of their Government.

15. Your memorialists would be deficient in the dutiful and grateful loyalty which they owe to and feel for their most excellent King, and in the respect and gratitude which they feel for your Lordship, if they did not solemnly express to your Lordship their firm conviction, that under the present system of the currency the permanent restoration of the national prosperity is not possible—that the plunder and oppression which it imposes upon the industrious classes is too enormous to be submitted to—and that if persevered in, no reform of the Parliament, and no human power can prevent universal anarchy in England.

16. That your memorialists entertain no doubt that the adoption of the monetary measures above recommended, will greatly contribute to restore the reward of industry, and the full employment and just wages of labour throughout the country; and after these just and righteous objects shall have been secured; if the restoration of the ancient standard of value should be found consistent with their preservation, your memorialists shall have no desire that it should be abandoned; but your memorialists respectfully remind your Lordship that the restoration of the ancient standard of value was submitted to by Parliament and the country under the present assurance and belief, that it would add only four per cent. to the weight and value of all the taxes, tithes, rents, debts and obligations of

the community, but that it is now universally acknowledged to have secretly and fraudulently increased all such burdens full cent. per cent., instead of four per cent.; and if this should still be found to be the result of a restoration of the ancient standard of value—if this should continue to be the degree in which it increases the wealth of the rich and the poverty of the poor—in which it aggrandizes the idle and unproductive classes, at the expense of the industrious workmen and their employers, your memorialists, in the name of their constituents and of their country, will, in this case, protest against the enforcement of such an atrocious and Heaven-crying act of fraud, tyranny, and destruction; and so long as society holds together under its effects, they will never cease to use every possible legal exertion to obtain justice and redress.

17. Finally, your memorialists respectfully offer to produce to your Lordship, or to Parliament, the most unquestionable proof of all the facts and positions here laid down; and they most earnestly conjure your Lordship, as you value the safety of the throne and the happiness of the people, not to suffer your Lordship's high and unsullied name to be compromised in the vain attempt to support the guilty measures of your predecessors—those guilty measures which your Lordship has always disapproved—which have disorganized the monetary system of Europe, and carried difficulty and embarrassment through every country of the world—which have produced in England a mass of misery, discontent, and discord, totally unparalleled in the history of the country—and which, if adopted by your Lordship, will most certainly render your Lordship's administration as short and as signally disastrous as any which the pages of history record.

Birmingham, Sept. 14th, 1831.

The above memorial was agreed to unanimously by the Council, after five nights' deliberation, and signed respectively by thirty-four of them. Read to Lord Grey, and explained by a deputation of four of the Council, a few days afterwards.

Mr. ATTWOOD could not be prevailed upon to have *the question stated* before he began. I wished to have that done, in order that the meeting might know what we were speaking about. The chairman read to the meeting my INVITATION, and the ACCEPTANCE of it; but in that ACCEPTANCE, the question was not stated at all: it was merely observed, that we were to decide whether it was bad for the country that there should be "*an action on the currency, or that an adjustment of debts and contracts should take place.*" I represented,

that this "*action upon the currency*" should be *described* to the meeting, before an appeal to their opinions was made upon the subject. Mr. ATTWOOD, whose mind appears incapable of anything like lucid statement or arrangement, could not see the necessity of any such preliminary. I then insisted, that it should be taken for granted that the intended "*action on the currency*" was described in the address to Lord GREY; and that I should be allowed as matter of course to proceed upon the presumption that that was the sort of "*action*" which Mr. ATTWOOD meant to defend. To this he assented; and then on he went for the whole of the four hours, with volubility perfectly indescribable, without once ever alluding to the real question at issue. His speech consisted of a repetition of the ten-thousand-times-told tale of PEEL'S BILL and of the other bills relative to the currency; of all his very just, but intolerably stale invectives, against PEEL, LIVERPOOL, and all those who had acted a prominent part in causing the restoration of the gold currency; of descriptions, very true, of the violations of contracts, of the ruin of families, and of all the distresses, miseries, and crimes, arising from that matchless act of folly and injustice; but, without saying one single word in defence of the propositions contained in the ADDRESS to Lord GREY, except by a general description of the advantages which would arise from *making money plenty*; and a general assertion, that the effects of his propositions would be the *reverse* of those of PEEL'S BILL; and by roundly declaring that his propositions, if they were adopted, would "*produce a state of national prosperity and happiness, such as the oldest man living had never witnessed, and that the youngest man living would not see the end of.*" These very words were given to me at COVENTRY, as part of his speech in that city, when he last came down from London, which was a few weeks ago, or, perhaps, when he came down from London in June. This declaration, he repeated, during his speech, not so few as *ten times*. There was something so exaggerated,

so perfectly incredible in this assertion, that the people smiled, and in that smile signified their want of comprehension, their want of capacity to conceive how such a wondrous good was to be effected by substituting depreciated paper for the King's coin. In no one instance did he state a proposition, and make an attempt to prove it to be true. One hour out of the four was spent in reading *extracts from his own pamphlets*, to show that he had been the true prophet upon the subject. In two instances his fondness for his own productions went a little too far, proving him to have been *an enemy of Parliamentary reform*, and a reviler of "*radicals and revolutionists*," so late as the bubble days of 1824. However, on he went, unchecked by this, and apparently unconscious of it, boldly professing that his object was, to bring the country back to that state of *prosperity which it enjoyed in 1825!*" The reader will say this is not credible; for, that he knew well, that the "*prosperity*" in 1825 blew up a hundred country banks, brought us within "*eight-and-forty hours of barter*," produced the bubble companies, destroyed thousands upon thousands of families, and produced hundreds of suicides. The reader will say, that it is incredible that he should have said this; and, if I had not fourteen hundred witnesses to the truth of the fact, I should not dare to state it.

As such, every one who was present will say, is a correct general description of his speech. To speak of it in detail, and in the order in which it came forth, is impossible. Fortunately for him, there can be no such thing as a *report* of his speech given. He may write out something to be published at BIRMINGHAM or in London; but the rigmarole, if he could see it all upon paper, would frighten even himself. There was not one single thought which he did not repeat twenty times over in different parts of his speech. For instance, he compared the nation to a patient in the hands of unskilful surgeons, who, finding that bleeding in the right arm had brought it down to a very low state, next bled it in the left arm in order to

revive it. He repeated this simile not less than a dozen times; and, they told me at BIRMINGHAM, that he has repeated this several times in every speech that he has ever made at BIRMINGHAM on the subject. Added to this confusion of ideas, and this endless repetition which

SUSSEX chopstick would compare to the wipings of a *round towel*; added to these, there are his voice and his manner, the former of which is noisy, loud, and strong, but not clear in articulation. At the further end of the room they could hear him, too, plainly, but not always distinguish one word from another. The sound of his voice is monotonous: he stands leaning forward, always in the same attitude precisely, the right-hand a little put forward, looking right before him, as if his audience were a fixed object; no animation, no cadence, no change of countenance the least in the world; not the smallest expression of feature, or movement of body to aid the emanation from the mind; so that, one contemplates, with admiration inexpressible, the good manners and good humour of such an audience (some of them compelled to stand all the while), silently enduring such a martyrdom for the space of four hours; for my own part, I can declare, that I have no recollection of having sitten still for so long without doing anything or saying anything since I came out of the cradle.

It is not in nature, however, that men should be *attentive* for any length of time to a speech of this description; and this audience, in spite of their proneness to be civil, very soon began to show that they were paying no attention. Many of them were in pairs talking to one another; at times some put on their hats; some were constantly looking back towards the further end of the room, where there was a sort of little hubbub pretty constantly going on, and whence many were going down, and occasionally some coming up, there being a great area below, in which they could walk backward and forward and smoke their cigars. Astonishing! All this had not the smallest effect upon him! Once or twice there was a cry of "question, question," which, without

being in the smallest degree disheartened or disconcerted, he answered in just the old tone of voice, *that he would not detain them much longer*; and, when one gentleman called out in a very loud voice, "I HOPE NOT!" on he went with as much self-complacency as ever! At last it was necessary to bring the candles, though we had begun at four o'clock. With all the good humour in the world he renewed the attack upon their patience; and, at last, when we were compelled to adjourn, a gentleman, for whose veracity I will vouch, heard him say, that "*he had not said a tenth part of what he intended to say!*" However, many of the audience *had not dined*; and hunger and patience do not go long together with Englishmen. In short, he had exhausted this patience; and if he had not been prevailed upon to stop, we should have broken up in confusion.

SECOND DAY.

We met at two o'clock, and Mr. JONES began. Mr. JONES's speech, which was delivered in a very neat manner, and in a very pleasing voice, and was indicative of none of that self-complacency and that insensibility to the opinions of his audience which were so offensive and so thoroughly felt in the manner and tone of Mr. ATTWOOD. Mr. JONES's speech had, nevertheless, nothing at all to do with the question at issue. It consisted of a very amusing account of the rise and progress of money in the world; and of the refinement, which he described as a great excellence, at which we had arrived, in making slips of paper to supply the place of silver and of gold. It further consisted of Mr. JONES's description of an entire new plan of a NATIONAL BANK, for the notes of which *every farthing's worth of property in the kingdom was to be a security*; and in which BANK every owner of property of any description, from the richest duke down to the meanest cottage-owner, or keeper of a chandler's shop, was to be a *co-partner and a sharer in the profits!*

By this time my readers will begin to see me amongst the clouds, and to

speculate as to the means that I used to descend from a situation so astonishingly sublime. Mr. ATTWOOD had assured the audience, that he *would fill all their pockets with money*; an assurance, which, according to his invariable custom, he had repeated, at least, twenty times. His colleague, though less positive in his assurances, had precisely the same object in view. Both intended to fill the pockets of the audience with money, by taking out the little gold and silver in them, and cramming them full of bits of paper; but Mr. ATTWOOD proposed to do this by the banks at present in existence; whereas Mr. JONES meant to effect the object by the magnificent scheme of which I have given but a very faint description.

Now came my turn; and my compassionate readers will, I am sure, feel great solicitude to know how I could possibly hope to be attended to by an audience, who had been sublimated to this astonishing degree. To say the truth, I felt all the difficulties of my situation, having at my command nothing but plain sense in very plain words. I tried them; and, I am satisfied that nineteen twentieths of the audience went away, thoroughly convinced, that, if my Lord GREY were to attempt to adopt the measures recommended by the BIRMINGHAM "COUNCIL," he ought to be *hanged by the neck till he was dead*, or be shut up in a madhouse for the rest of his life. The public will not expect from me *a report of a two hours' speech*; and, I could not make it shorter: every word of it was to the question; no ramblings; not a single repetition. I could not possibly make it shorter; and, warned by the example of my opponent, I did not make it so long as strict justice to myself and my subject demanded. The reader will not expect a "report," but he will expect from me an *analysis*; and he will be pleased to bear in mind that I give this analysis with fourteen hundred witnesses to be appealed to with regard to its correctness.

MY SPEECH.

I began by reading Mr. ATTWOOD's propositions, as contained in the ADDRESS to Lord GREY, and as the reader will see them in the ADDRESS which I have above inserted. I then read the 12th paragraph of the ADDRESS, in which the COUNCIL express their opinion, that *my scheme*, namely, the *abolishing of all internal taxes* and an *equitable adjustment of contracts*, would, if attempted, *result in universal anarchy*. I then proceeded to observe, that there were, in fact, two questions for the audience to decide; FIRST, whether Mr. ATTWOOD's propositions ought to be adopted by the Government; and SECOND, whether my proposition ought to be adopted by the Government; that it was my opinion, that Mr. ATTWOOD's propositions were not practicable, and if practicable, they must produce mischief; for the wilfully producing of which, any body or any ministry would deserve to be put to death. With regard to the propositions of Mr. ATTWOOD and the "COUNCIL," I divided my objections into two classes; namely, those which I had to offer against them as being of a general and permanent nature; and those relating to the evil, which would immediately arise out of an attempt to act upon these propositions.

With regard to the former I begged the audience to observe, that the propositions contemplated a *depreciated* paper-money, and that that paper-money and that depreciation should be perpetual; but Mr. ATTWOOD seemed to proceed upon the notion, that a people must be rich or poor, happy or miserable, in proportion to the *nominal quantity of money in their country*, and hence his magnificent promise of "*filling their pockets with money*": that this was a very sad error: that a small quantity of money was just as efficient as a large quantity of money for every national purpose, and particularly for the securing of the great object of all, namely, a due reward for labour: that, according to the statute of labourers, passed in the reign of Edward the Third, a woman was to have a penny a day at hay-

making, and a man threepence a day at filling dung-cart; but, as those sums would purchase as much meat and bread as twenty pennies, or twenty threepences, would purchase now (and this was proved to be the fact by the history of prices of this country, given by Bishop FLEETWOOD) the working people were better off with that small quantity of money in the country, than they can possibly be with the present large quantity of money in the country, while loaded with taxes to the present amount: that, if the labouring man have now two shillings a day, and the price of the loaf be sixpence, he gains nothing by raising his wages to four shillings a day if the loaf be raised to a shilling; so that Mr. ATTWOOD's scheme of doubling the nominal quantity of money would be no benefit to the working man: that it signifies not a straw what is the quantity of money in a country, provided there be no taxes in that country, and provided that the alteration in the quantity be not produced by arbitrary acts. If the change in the quantity be thus produced, then great mischief is done, great injustice, great cruelty inflicted on many parties. That Mr. ATTWOOD seems to think that the days of depreciated paper-money were days of great happiness to the working people, and that the nation as a whole became prosperous in consequence of the paper-money: that this is another fatal error: that the "*improvements*" of which he has talked, arose out of the robberies committed on the labouring people, within the last forty or fifty years, by the means of paper-money: that it was proved before a committee of the House of Commons in the year 1821, by Mr. ELLMAN, a farmer in Sussex, that, forty-five years before that time, when he became a farmer, every man in his parish brewed his own beer, and that now not a single working man in the parish did it. That all these years the country had been inundated with paper-money, by the instrumentality of which the working people had been robbed, first of their clocks, next of their feather-beds, next of their brewing utensils and the rest of their goods, next of their Sunday clothes

and of nearly all their bread and their meat, until at last this accursed thing, co-operating with the taxes, has reduced their comfortable dwellings to hovels, their food to the soul-degrading potato, and their dress to that of common beggars: that these gentlemen assume that there is nothing at all fraudulent or false in paper-money, and that every piece of paper that has the word BANK written on it, is the *representative of something of real value*; and they will deny, I suppose, that any of us ever heard of such a thing as an *accommodation note*: that, however, in the time of that memorable panic, which arose out of Mr. ATTWOOD's prosperity (to which prosperity he wishes to bring us back), there was an Essex banker who had a large quantity of notes out when he broke, and of whom it was proved before the commissioners of bankruptcy, that he never had been *worth a shilling in his life*; that he had purchased an estate during the days of his prosperity, and that his creditors found this estate settled upon his wife: that this is by no means a very uncommon case, and that were there nothing to be alleged against paper-money more than this, this alone would be sufficient to make us repudiate the propositions of Mr. ATTWOOD and the COUNCIL: that WENTWORTH, the banker who broke at York, had a fine estate in the neighbourhood of WAKEFIELD; and that those who took his notes naturally looked upon this estate as a security of their goodness; but the estate the creditors found to be settled on the son, and the son is in possession of it now: that paper-money is a false thing, and creates a credit which ought not to exist: that the makers and circulators of it live in idleness and luxury themselves, on the care and labour of the rest of the community, and on the rents of the rightful owners of the land: that this fiction creates masses of *middle-men*, the existence of whom all wise and just governments have endeavoured to prevent: that a pig-poker, who goes to market at BARTON, with an *accommodation-note*, purchases a score of porkers

for the BIRMINGHAM market, and brings them to BIRMINGHAM, and sells them for so much a head *more* than he gave for them, makes them come dearer to the consumers at BIRMINGHAM, and he and the banker share in the gain arising from that additional price; and that thus a race of men is created to assist the bankers in deriving riches from other men's labour and care: that were there no other objection to paper-money, it would be sufficient that it enables men to get great estates into their possession, without any possible cause for their having those estates: that the newspaper told us that RICARDO got half a million of money by merely *watching the turn of the paper-money market*; and we know that his sons have three or four thumping estates in their possession; and we also know, that that which was thus *got* by him, must have been lost by the rest of the community, though we cannot so clearly show the manner of the loss and the gain: that we can plainly see that LORD GRENVILLE has, by the means of his sinecure, got the means of purchasing an estate worth two hundred thousand pounds; that he has received these means *out of the taxes we know*: and we know that the rest of the nation must be two hundred thousand pounds poorer for his gains: that, in the case of RICARDO, the process is not so clear to our eyes; but as he did nothing of use to anybody in getting the half million of money, he took it from the rest of the country without value received on their part; and that he could not have done this, had it not been for that indescribable scourge, called paper-money, and *depreciated* paper-money, too, which Mr. ATTWOOD and the "COUNCIL" urge my Lord GREY to revive and perpetuate: that Mr. ATTWOOD has pointed to AMERICA as a proof of the excellent effects of "*free-trade in paper-money*:" that Mr. ATTWOOD has been too much engaged in settling the important concerns of England to pay attention to what is really passing in that country: that if he had time to go to the New England Coffee-house, in London, and

there look at the newspapers from the United States, he would find that the two Houses of Congress recently passed an act for the renewal of the charter of the Bank of the United States, that the president has refused to ratify this act; that he has sent it back to the two Houses with a statement of his reasons for the non-ratification; and that the two Houses have, upon reconsideration, agreed to abandon the bill; at least, this I have been told is the case, though I have not read an account of it in the American papers: that amongst the reasons stated by the president are, that no government on earth has a right to make arbitrary changes in the value of money; that paper-money naturally creates a set of cunning men, whose very profession is to get from the simple and the honest, the fruit of their care and their labour; that it always must tend to add to the riches of the rich, and to add to the poverty of the poor: that in the same American newspapers Mr. ATTWOOD will find the "*PRICE CURRENTS*," stating the prices of cotton, of flour, of corn, of potash, of tobacco and the other products of that great country: that he will be delighted to find amongst the products, *an abundant produce of bank-notes*, the "*free-trade*" in which he has so loftily eulogised: that in one of these "*PRICE CURRENTS*" which I saw just before I left London, which "*PRICE CURRENT*" was published at New York, there are all the various prices of the *bank-notes* of all the banks in that state; in one case the dollar-note, which ought to be worth a hundred cents, is stated to be worth *ninety-eight cents*, and then the prices go on varying from *ninety-eight cents to twenty-five cents*! That Mr. ATTWOOD must be enraptured at this system, but that the people of NEW YORK, whom these roguish bankers have cheated out of seventy-five cents out of a hundred, will hardly join him and the "COUNCIL" of BIRMINGHAM in crying up the blessings of a free trade in money: that the same American papers will inform Mr. ATTWOOD, when the great weight of English affairs will permit him to attend to them, that, at this

very moment, the commercial distress in America, the embarrassments in all pecuniary transactions, the breakings, the frauds, aye, *and the want of employment, too*, all exist in a degree quite frightful to contemplate: that, therefore, though Mr. ATTWOOD is in error with regard to the American free trade in paper-money; though there is no bank-note can be issued there without a charter granted by law, America gives us a warning as awful as a warning from the tomb, to turn with indignation from the advice offered to the Ministers by Mr. ATTWOOD and the COUNCIL of BIRMINGHAM, for that, that country, otherwise so blessed, in all other things so happy, a cheap government, the face of a tax-gatherer never seen in it, the land more abundant than the hands to cultivate it, all the sources of information and of knowledge perfectly unshackled; that country, so blessed by God, and by a combination of earthly circumstances unparalleled in the history of the world, has been thrown into a state of turmoil and misery by that accursed scourge called paper-money, which it is the object of Mr. ATTWOOD and the "COUNCIL," to revive and perpetuate in England! That, however, our own experience ought to be quite enough to make us resolve to perish in the strife rather than suffer this curse to return to afflict the children committed by nature to our sacred care: that, in the year 1818, a banker at PORTSMOUTH, in Hampshire, broke, and the effects of that breaking were described by the Hampshire newspapers to be such, that the lamentations, the cries could not have been greater if there had been *a dead corpse lying in every third house in the county!* This was by no means a very great exaggeration, for his notes were in every hand; they were husbanded up by thousands and thousands of poor men to pay their rent with; to buy a pig with; to buy fuel for the winter; to provide other things for the coming inclement season: these accursed notes representing their sweat during the hay time and harvest, their care and anxiety to provide for their wives and their children,

all, all swept away by the instrumentality of the execrable paper-money; and that that man must be a devil in human shape, who would seriously and on consideration (which I trust Mr. ATTWOOD will not), revive and perpetuate the diabolical scourge

After this part of the speech, I said, thus, gentlemen, I have most respectfully submitted to you, and you with very great indulgence have received a statement of my *general* objections to the propositions which Mr. ATTWOOD and the COUNCIL urge my Lord GREY to adopt. I will now, if you should deem me worthy of a continuation of that indulgence, proceed to submit to you, as shortly as possible, *FIRST*, my reasons for believing that the scheme would be utterly impracticable, and that it would break down in the attempt: and, *SECOND*, that if it were practicable, it would cause acts of injustice to be committed, and mischief to arise, which no sane person, not delighting in acts of injustice and cruelty, can possibly contemplate without shuddering with horror. I then proceeded in substance as follows:

With regard to the impracticability, the measure would, it appears to me, totally put a stop, for a short time, at least, to the *furnishing of great towns with the necessaries of life*: that we will, however, confine ourselves to London: that you will please to bear in mind that this measure is to come like "a thief in the night;" that there is to be no warning to be given to the public, that the *depreciation is finally to arrive at cent. per cent.*: that, therefore, supposing me to be a farmer in LINCOLNSHIRE, who, yesterday, sent off a hundred fat sheep to waddle up to London, and who finds, by this morning's post, that any salesman will legally tender me Mr. ATTWOOD's paper-money in payment for my sheep, shall I not know, that of his paper-money, which is going on in swift progress towards a hundred per cent., I shall get more, *if I keep the sheep a little while longer*; and shall I not, flinging down the newspaper that the post has brought me, run out into the stable, with boots on, or shoes

on, with hat upon my head, or without hat, get the saddle upon my horse as quickly as possible, and, without even stopping to kiss my wife, or daughter, scamper off towards London after my sheep, put them into a pasture somewhere by the side of the road, and there let them be, till I can do one of two things, get six pounds a-piece of Mr. ATTWOOD's money for them, or get somebody to give me three pounds a-piece in gold sovereigns: that I should certainly do one of these two things: that the same would take place with regard to cattle from Devonshire and Herefordshire, and every other county, and not a pig would move towards London from SOUTHWELL or ROMFORD, nor a wagon-load of potatoes or cabbages would come up from Kent: that, in such a state of things the Government itself would not exist for twice eight-and-forty hours: that there would need no "*Jacobins and Levellers*," no "*Radical Revolutionists*," against whom Mr. ATTWOOD wrote so lately as 1824; no "*evil designing*" person of any description; nothing in the world but the mere movement of the people, crowding about in thousands and hundreds of thousands, inquiring *what was going to be done*, and particularly where victuals and drink were to be got: that I do not positively state, that this would be the case, but I do positively say, that either this would be the case, or that London, aye, and MANCHESTER and BIRMINGHAM, too, and every other great town, if they were supplied with the necessities of life, would be supplied by purchases made with *gold*: that, then, there will be two PRICES, at once, and that, though Mr. ATTWOOD can see "*no danger in two prices*," I dare say my Lord GREY can see some danger in them!

After this part of my speech, I proceeded to tell the meeting, how the scheme would operate, if it were possible to carry it into practice; what injustice it would inflict on every class of the community, from the lord to the labourer, with the exception of *bankers, renting farmers, and beneficed clergymen*, which three classes I would reserve

for the last upon the list; I then proceeded in substance as follows:

That Mr. ATTWOOD's most captivating promise was, that he would *fill all the people's pockets with money*, and, of course, the pockets of the people of BIRMINGHAM, and, that we will now proceed to see in what a curious sort of way he would effect his purpose: that this country is at all times the great creditor of the world, particularly on account of manufactured goods, but that to make our view of the matter as close as possible, let us confine ourselves to its relationship with the United States of America: that it has for many years been computed, that the United States owe, at all times, thirty millions of pounds sterling to this country, and it is but reasonable to suppose that they owe one million of that to BIRMINGHAM and its immediate vicinity: that, if Mr. ATTWOOD's project were adopted JONATHAN would pay you *half a million* of our present money: that is to say, with one-half of what is due to you, which would be a very singular way of filling your pockets with money: that Mr. ATTWOOD and the COUNCIL tell us, "Never mind that, for we should pay the Yankees in the same sort of money;" to which I answer, that this is one of their grand mistakes; for if I owe a debt in America at this time, I must pay it in that money, and not in this, so that we should be in the situation in which France was placed by one of the half-foolish, half-roguish tricks of that pompous squanderer LOUIS XIV.: that Mr. ATTWOOD has told us something about GREECE and ROME, without stopping at a country nearer home, the consequences of whose swindling financial tricks have, for forty-five years, been under our eyes: that the COUNCIL are not aware, that they are, in this case, merely the humble imitators of the ministers of LOUIS XIV., who, as stupid as they were profligate, in order to get rid of the debts of the state, called in all the money, coined it into smaller money, and, to use Mr. ATTWOOD's phrase, "*filled the people's pockets with money*:" that MARMONTEL, who give us a history of these fooleries and rogueries,

tells us that, "besides the ruin in the kingdom itself, there was the dreadful ruin in the foreign commercial transactions, particularly with the Dutch, who," says he "paid us in our light money, and made us pay them in their heavy money:" that, thus, the YANKEES would pay us in Mr. ATTWOOD's legal tender, *cent. per cent. depreciated*, while we, if we now owe them any thing, must pay them in silver dollars, that being the only legal standard coin of the country: that every man whose property consists in *book debts* would be robbed at once of one half of those book debts; and, as to the circumstance of his being able to pay his debts in the same way, the greatest of all retailers, butchers, bakers, millers, butter and cheese sellers, always purchase with ready money, and always have the larger part of their property in their book debts: that, BIRMINGHAM itself must always be a great creditor in this way, all the ironmongers in the kingdom being debtors to BIRMINGHAM, generally speaking; and, as to these creditors at Birmingham having the privilege of paying their debts in the same way, it would be the high privilege of being permitted to rob their own neighbours with impunity; so that Mr. ATTWOOD and the "COUNCIL," in order to fill your pockets with money, would set all the country to rob you, and set you to rob one another: that, for every bill of exchange now out, the holder would receive one half of its amount; so that unless he had a bill out to the same amount at the same time, he would be robbed of a part of its due: that every person depending upon security, receivable from the Life-insurance offices, would receive one half of his due: that a man who has now insured his premises against fire, for a thousand pounds, would, in case of destruction by fire, receive five hundred; so that these masses of usurers would be thus benefited by a monstrous robbery upon the public in general: that the widow with a hundred pounds a year settled upon her at her marriage, would receive fifty: that the man who lent his sovereigns only the other day on mortgage, would

be paid with half the amount, and, that all rent charges would be subject to the same fate: that the far greater part of these *wills* have been made or altered since the year 1825, and that the makers of these *wills* have grounded the distribution that they have made of their property on calculations founded on present prices and present money: that, if Mr. ATTWOOD's recommendation were adopted, all these wills must be instantly altered or violated, and there is always a great part of them which circumstances do not permit to be altered: that there is one description of persons who have entered into a contract for time, that I think Mr. ATTWOOD would find it difficult to deal with, namely, the gentlemen in *red and blue coats*, whether mounted or dismounted; for, however great his powers of persuasion may be, however docile he might find the makers of muskets and bayonets, it would, I imagine, require more than even all his eloquence, to make a sixpence appear as good as a shilling to men who use those guns and bayonets, and with whom his measure would produce a direct breach of contract, so open and so flagrant that the minister must be mad who would attempt to enforce it: that, however, this would be full as just, or rather not less unjust, than the breach of contract, the scandalous and infamous breach of contract, that this measure would cause with regard to every person hired by the year, and especially with regard to servants in husbandry, who formerly consisted of a sixth part of the whole of the population of the country, and who now consist of much more than a million of persons, who would, by this measure, be robbed on an average of more than a third part of their year's wages; and will the BIRMINGHAM COUNCIL tell these servants that they and the soldiers are to obtain compensation by paying *their debts* in the same sort of money? That Mr. ATTWOOD talked a good deal about the rise that would take place in the wages of mechanics and manufacturing workpeople, really seeming to imagine that every necessary of life would not rise

too! That repeated experience in all the countries in the world comes at the back of reason to convince us that the wages of labour never can *keep pace* in rising with the rise in the price of commodities; that the rise in the latter keeps an exact pace with the depreciation in the value of money; but that the rise in the former does not take place silently, but becomes matter of dispute; that the parties in this contest are the master and the man; that the master is able to dispense with the man's work for a little while, but that the man must eat; that the contest is therefore unequal; that the man is sure to be defeated; and that thus the rise in wages always keeps in arrear of the rise in the price of food and of raiment; and yet the "COUNCIL" of BIRMINGHAM boast of their measure as fraught with feelings of humanity, seeming to forget all the while that there are persons receiving aid from the parishes, and not having the boldness to tell us that they believe that the poor man, who now gets *three shillings a week* to help to support him and his miserable family, would get *six shillings a week* from the overseer, the moment Mr. ATTWOOD's measure was adopted: that you know well, gentlemen, that it would take him a year or two before he would add a shilling to the three shillings, and that in the mean while he and his family would be perishing with want; and yet this is a measure "to relieve the distress of the people;" this is a measure that Mr. ATTWOOD describes as being dictated by a regard for the welfare of all classes, but particularly for that class who live by their labour: that we now come, after so long a trespass upon your patience, to the three classes who will clearly benefit from this measure of Mr. ATTWOOD and the "COUNCIL," namely, the RENTING FARMERS, the BENEFICED CLERGY, and the BANKERS: that, in the first of these classes, singularly enough, I find *myself*: that I have just rented a farm in Surrey, for which I have agreed to pay my landlord a *pound* an acre per annum, for rent, for twenty-one years; let Mr. ATTWOOD's measure be adopted, I pay my

landlord or his son ten shillings an acre instead of a pound; and thus I deduct one-half of his rent for twenty-one years, which deduction, with the interest, gives me and my successor more than one half of the estate! Here I stopped and said, Now, then, gentlemen, remember, that the man who holds up his hand for Mr. ATTWOOD's propositions, *declares that it is just that I should rob my landlord of one half of his estate.* Before I can believe that a man of you will do that, I must see you do it. This measure would enable me at once to rob my landlord of half his rent, and my servants of half their wages. I warrant you I should soon be in the yeomanry cavalry horse: I warrant you I should soon again have my glittering helmet and sharp-cutting sabre. If this project could possibly be carried into effect, we should soon hear these rural jannissaries calling again for the heads of "Jacobins and levellers;" and I should not at all wonder if they were to insist upon a repeal of the Reform Bill, which they have cried out for, only because they could no longer trample on their neighbours with impunity.

And now for the BENEFICED CLERGY, well known to be great favourites at BIRMINGHAM. The "COUNCIL" did not perceive, I am very sure, how their measure would operate with regard to this class of persons of immense property. They can at any time take their tithes *in "kind,"* therefore no change in the value of money affects them. It would be said, that they take money in lieu of tithes. This is almost always from year to year. They can suffer only for one season at any rate, and they can pay their debts in the depreciated money. Sometimes they make an agreement with the land occupiers for *several years*, and sometimes for the whole of the time that they are *to hold the living.* But they can *chop livings* when pushed hard in this way, and then the bargain is void, for no parson can bind his successor. This is what many of them did do during the time of depreciated money, and it is what they had a right to do, and would have a right to do it

again. They would receive no more than their due according to the *law*, and men have a right to resort to every legal means of protection against an act of injustice, so flagrant as that proposed by Mr. ATTWOOD. But while Mr. ATTWOOD would thus leave in a state of security the *beneficed* clergy, what would he do for the poor *curates*? He professes great humanity, and I believe him to be perfectly sincere; but then I must think that he has not thought of what he is proposing. There was an act passed in 1813 to compel the monopolising rectors and vicars to pay their curates better than they were paying them before. The stipends were to be from *eighty* to a *hundred and fifty* pounds a year. Mr. ATTWOOD's project would reduce these poor curates' salaries to from *forty* to *seventy-five* pounds a year; and the money thus taken from the poor curates to be put into the pockets of rectors and vicars and deans and chapters and bishops. The curates may *quit their curacies*, Mr. ATTWOOD will say! Aye, just as the workman may quit the workshop; but then, both must quit eating. Here again at every turn we see the rich gaining and the poor suffering, by Mr. ATTWOOD's project, or, to use the words of the president of the United States, we see the accursed thing called paper-money, always tending to make the *rich more rich*, and the *poor more poor*.

We now come to the last effect that I shall notice, to the last instance of flagrant robbery to be committed by this scheme of the BIRMINGHAM "COUNCIL;" and here, I am sure, I am quite sure, that Mr. ATTWOOD never thought of this effect to be produced by his bill: it is possible that the rest of the "COUNCIL" might think of it; but I am quite sure, that the thought never came athwart the mind of Mr. ATTWOOD.

Suffer me to remind you, gentlemen, that this measure is to produce a depreciation of *cent. per cent.*; suffer me to remind you that it is to come like a "thief in the night;" that the recommendation to my Lord GREY is, not to make the matter public until it is done; to do it by "Order in Council;" and

not to let any one know that the thing is going to be done; "do I (turning to Mr. ATTWOOD) truly describe this position?" He says, *yes*. Well, then, gentlemen, no man is to have an intimation that this thing is going to be done. If I have deposited a thousand pounds with a country banker to day, Mr. ATTWOOD's project is adopted to-morrow, and the next day the country banker pays me with five hundred pounds, with the generous intention of filling my pocket with money! Now, I say, that I am *sure* that this proposition of Mr. ATTWOOD was made without a thought; and I am sure, that he will thank me for expressing my hope that you will not hold up your hands in approbation of a scheme which would enable *him* to rob all those customers who had deposited their money in his hands for *safe keeping*.

Such, gentlemen, are the reasons on which I found my objections, and my opposition to the measure proposed to the Ministers by the BIRMINGHAM "COUNCIL," with Mr. ATTWOOD at its head. I am desirous to take the decision of the meeting upon this measure, unconnected with any proposition or scheme of mine, which, you will please to observe, has never been submitted to any Minister or any person in power, and has been put forth in print by me merely as the opinions of a literary man, having no communication, direct or indirect, with any person being in legislative or executive power. However, as it has been insisted, that my scheme shall be brought before you, you shall have it described with the sacrifice of a very small portion of your time; it being as follows:

1. Not by any means to depart in any degree whatsoever from the present money standard of the country.
2. To take all the public property; namely, the crown-lands, the crown-estates, the woods and forests, the Duchies of Cornwall and of Lancaster, the *real* property now possessed by the bishops, deans and chapters; and to enforce the rigid payment and collection of *all* arrears due to the public from de-

faulters; and, in case of their being dead, pursue their heirs and assigns rigidly, according to the letter of the well-known and most admirable "*Statute of Public Accountants*," passed in the reign of QUEEN ELIZABETH, and still unrepealed; and to make the receivers of all unmerited pensions, sinecures, and grants, "*public accountants*," and pursue them and their heirs and assigns accordingly.

3. To take the whole of what is called the national debt; and, in the first place, reduce it one half in amount, we having, for many years been paying twice as much interest as is due to the fundholders, even supposing it to be a debt that we are bound to pay at all.
4. Then cease to pay interest upon a quarter part of this half at the end of six months, and so on, in order that interest might cease to be paid upon any part of it at the end of two years.
5. Then appoint a board of five commissioners to receive and examine the claims of suffering fundholders, and leave it to that board to make such compensation as might be found consistent with justice to the nation and humanity to the parties, out of the proceeds of the property mentioned before.
6. To disband the standing army, abolish all *internal* taxes whatsoever, raise a revenue of from six to seven millions a year in custom-house duties, making this Government as cheap as that of America, and never suffering an Englishman again to see the odious face of a tax-gatherer with an ink bottle at his button-hole, leaving for the people to keep for their own use the fifty-four millions a year, now pocketed by the tax-collectors in part, while the rest is sent up to London.
7. To make an *equitable adjustment* of all *contracts* and *debts*.

This, gentlemen, is *my scheme*; this is my way of putting money into the pockets of the people, or rather of preventing it from being taken out of their

pockets. I am aware that the scheme of Mr. ATTWOOD would reduce by one half, the interest of the debt, the pay of the army, the pensions, the sinecures, the salaries. All this, with the exception of the pay to the soldiers, would be just, as far as it goes; but to take off half the pensions and sinecures would be but *half* justice to the nation; and I cannot see why it should not have *whole* justice. In order to obtain this *half* justice, Mr. ATTWOOD would revive and perpetuate the accursed paper-money, and would cause to be committed all the enormous robberies and injuries that I have enumerated. Mr. ATTWOOD spent four hours in describing to us the evils of paper-money, and particularly of stupid PEEL's mischievous BILL. To be sure, he said little upon this subject which I had not said before. I hope to be *by his side*, when he shall do something more than utter mere querulous invective against that insolent pretender, whose very best plea is that of brutal ignorance; a plea which I hope we shall be able to prove insufficient to justify him in wriggling into a seat in the King's council, and pocketing six thousand pounds a year of our money. I hope to see Mr. ATTWOOD take the lead in bringing something like *real responsibility* upon the head of this man; but, because PEEL enabled my landlord to rob my chopstick predecessor, am I now to be allowed to rob the landlord? This, to use a very happy phrase of Mr. ATTWOOD, would be "*wild justice*," indeed! Because PEEL and his blundering or roguish co-operators transferred property unjustly from hand to hand by Act of Parliament, is my Lord GREY to do the same? And, observe, though PEEL's BILL was a most wicked Act, it did not come like a thief in the night: it struck with ruin hundreds of thousands; but it gave them a little time to prepare for their end. This project of Mr. ATTWOOD would strike the victims dead at once; and in the space of a very few years, if it were possible for it to go into execution, the country would exhibit a set of slaves, working and toiling for the makers of false money.

Mr. ATTWOOD describes the execution of my scheme as "a *breaking up of the social system*." He should say the *taxing system*, the tax-eating system; and, I am by no means unaware that there would be a great change in your customers as well as in your fabrics. You would not have so many chandeliers and other pretty things in brass and in steel to make; but you would have millions upon millions of frying-pans, gridirons, porridge pots, and brewing kettles, which would be a much more *solid* trade; and when millions are set against thousands, small, indeed, must be the value of the individual articles of the former for the millions not to exceed the thousands in amount. Mr. ATTWOOD wants to diminish the taxes. He told us repeatedly, that the *national debt* "*strangled*" the industry of the country; that the "taxes and debts took all;" "that all our earnings were *gobbled up* by the taxes." Of the *ad valorem* taxes his scheme would take off none; of the rest it would take off half: I am for taking off all: I am for suffering no part of our earnings to be *gobbled up*, except by those who give us due value in exchange.

It only remains for me to describe that part of my measure which relates to contracts between man and man. For, on account of a mortgage, a rent charge, an annuity, a jointure, a marriage settlement, a bond, a lease; for any of these obligations, settled about twenty years ago, every one who has to pay on account of them, is paying just *double* of what he ought to pay, in consequence of the measures of PEEL, and of the stupid Whigs, who were his chief prompters and abettors; always, however, *excepting my* Lord GREY, who, though, as I said before, a bitter enemy of mine, I must do him justice to say, never for one moment gave his countenance to these measures of monstrous iniquity, and not less of monstrous foolishness, by which property was transferred from one man to another by a process very nearly as flagrant as that practised by the highwayman or house-breaker.

You will please to observe, gentle-

men, that a very large part of the property of the whole kingdom, especially the real property, is still subject to these obligations. For instance, just before I left London, I heard, relative to a farmer who died a little while ago, the following circumstances related: twenty years ago, he bought a farm for fifteen thousand pounds; and borrowed, I think it was, six thousand pounds upon it. He regularly paid the interest upon this mortgage; but, still the mortgage remained, he having a family of *ten children* during the time, and greatly improving the estate all the while, being a man of great industry and great skill. His *will* ordered the estate to be sold, and a certain division to be made of the proceeds: the estate was sold accordingly; and it sold for *less than the amount of the mortgage*; and there are the wife and ten children robbed of the proceeds of the estate, by PEEL's atrocious BILL, which, as I always said, ought to have been accompanied with an *adjustment of contracts*.

This adjustment I would make now. Mr. ATTWOOD and the COUNCIL say that this is *impracticable*, that it is complex; that it would be utterly impossible to rectify contracts so numerous and so various, the dates of which spread themselves over such a number of years. Very curious, this objection, when these gentlemen must recollect, with what facility this ingenious and industrious Government of ours got at an account of the affairs of every individual in the country, in order to raise an income tax upon us. PITT and his successors found not the smallest difficulty in the world in ascertaining all about every one of these obligations; aye, and about the *profits of every man's trade and calling, too*. Yet the BIRMINGHAM COUNCIL fear that to get an account of the *existing contracts*, and to adjust them, requires a mental capacity more than human. Now, gentlemen, I venture to say, that the whole thing might be adjusted, in obedience to one very short act of parliament, and in the course of one month, with perfect justice to all the parties, and without one shilling of expense to any body.

The money of England began to be unsettled in its value the moment that **PITT** began his works; but more especially when he first put out five-pound Bank-of-England notes, which was, I think, in the year 1793. I would, therefore, go back to the year 1790, and lay down as my rule, that in that year the pound sterling had its true value according to its name. I would then ascertain the real value of the nominal pound sterling in each subsequent year up to the present time, by taking as my standard the prices, during that year, of *wheat, mutton, and wool*. These are the three great products of the country, and the record of their prices is in every one's hands, taking the price of these commodities for every week in each year, then making an average price for the year; then comparing that average of 1790, I should ascertain how much the nominal pound sterling was really worth in each year from the year 1790 to the present time. In order to guard against any incorrectness which might arise from the particular *seasons* of 1790, it might be advisable to take in four or five years previous to that year along with that year, and make the average of those years my standard. Having referred to my records and made my calculations, I then make a **TABLE** with two columns, one expressing *the year of our Lord*, and the other expressing *the real value of the nominal pound sterling in that year*. Thus my **TABLE** would begin with the year 1790 and end with the year 1832; and, when we came down to the year 1812, when the farmer that I have just mentioned took the mortgage on his farm, we should find that the nominal pound sterling was then worth about *ten shillings*, and that the farmer's family ought now to have paid to the mortgagee three thousand pounds instead of six; and thus I would proceed with every contract for time, and with every debt.

Having prepared my **TABLE** ready to introduce into my act of parliament, I would move leave to bring in my bill, and my preamble should be somewhat in this way: "Whereas, by an act passed " in the fifty-ninth year of his late Ma-

" jesty, King George the Third, of ever
" blessed and glorious memory, enormous injustice was, through gross
" ignorance, or through fraudulent design, inflicted on great numbers of
" his Majesty's good and loyal subjects;
" and whereas, it becomes this present
" parliament (now consisting, as it happily does, of true representatives of at
" least a small part of the people of
" this realm) to rectify, as far as it is
" possible, the wrongs then done; may
" it please your Majesty, that it may
" be enacted, and be it enacted, &c.
" &c." Then I should proceed with my enactments, changing the obligations according to the **TABLE** above mentioned, which would make part of the act; and providing that the parties who wish to avail themselves of the advantage of the change, should come to an adjustment with the other party within the space of three months. In case of such agreement, a memorandum to that effect, assented to and signed before two justices of the peace and countersigned by them, should be sufficient evidence of the adjustment. In case the parties could not agree, the complaining party should take the matter before a Board of Commissioners, to be sitting in each county town, for the said county on the market day in every week for three months, from the date specified in the act. These commissioners should be the lord-lieutenant of the county, and the high-sheriff of the county for the time being, the chairman of the quarter sessions of the county, and the clerk of the peace of the county should be in attendance. These commissioners should be bound to make an adjustment according to the act; and the adjustment fixed on, expressed, and signed by them, should be binding on the parties, and should be evidence in all courts of law.

This, gentlemen, is what ought to have been done when stupid and pompous **PEEL** brought in his **BILL**; this is what must be done now, or convulsion will be the end. **Mr. ATTWOOD** and the **COUNCIL** say, that "to attempt to
" do this would produce universal anarchy!" Do you discover here any of the elements of anarchy? **Mr. ATT-**

wood's scheme would, indeed, have saved the farmer's family that I have mentioned above, but it would ruin the mortgagee who lent his money last year. In short, not to detain you any longer, my proposition breathes justice from the beginning to the end; and justice is the sure and certain foundation of peace and happiness in a nation. Mr. ATTWOOD's project is justice by accident; injustice is its rule and justice is its exception. My proposition would put an end, for ever, to fluctuations in the value of money, and to that monstrous instrument of fraud, a depreciated paper. Mr. ATTWOOD's project would perpetuate both, if it were practicable, the chances being, that it would produce general confusion immediately. In my proposition you see the sure and certain means of making the innumerable bands of idlers cease to devour the fruits of labour and of care. In the propositions of Mr. ATTWOOD and the COUNCIL you see the means as sure of increasing and perpetuating those bands, and of making industry and labour instrumental only to the supporting of those bands. With regard to my propositions, not only am I convinced that they ought to be submitted to the Parliament, but I pledge myself to you that I myself will submit them, if I be in that Parliament; and I request you, gentlemen, to be so good as to bear this promise in your minds.

In conclusion, gentlemen, you have now both our projects fairly before you; about my own I care not a straw for the decision, knowing well that it must be adopted at last; but, about Mr. ATTWOOD's I care a great deal; because, though I am sure that my Lord GREY, though a very great enemy to me, will never adopt the recommendation of Mr. ATTWOOD and the "COUNCIL," it is of great importance that the people of a town, so justly esteemed for its sense and public spirit as this town is, should not, in this public and solemn manner, give its countenance to a scheme fraught with such folly, injustice, and cruelty. I am well aware, gentlemen, of the influence of local partialities, especially when bearing upon persons so generally and justly esteemed as are my opponents;

but, at the same time, I have confidence enough in your indulgence to embolden me to rely that you will, in this case, as you would in a jury-box, dismiss every personal and partial feeling from your minds, and decide here, as you would there, under no influence except that of the truth and justice of the case.

MR. ATTWOOD'S REPLY.

Mr. ATTWOOD began by asserting, that my speech had consisted of nothing but a "*tissue of sophistries*," every one of which he would expose and refute; and, under all the talkings of the audience to one another; under all their mutterings, and evidence of being uneasy, he proceeded for two whole hours, until approaching darkness made every one begin to cry shame; under all these, any one of which was enough to strike dumb a man of common mould, he proceeded for two whole hours, without making *even an allusion* to any one of the points which I had brought forward in opposition to his scheme. Not even an allusion to any one of them; not even a hint at my describing the robbery that he would commit on *his own customers*! Not a word in answer to my statement relative to the prices of bank-notes at New York. Not one single word in *justification of the measure recommended to my Lord GREY*; all was repetition of the ten-times-told tale of the day before. All his *own prophecies* over and over again; all his old invectives against PEEL and Lord LIVERPOOL, and their BILL. The promise again twenty times repeated, that he would "*fill all our pockets with money*," and make our happiness such "*as the oldest man living had never seen the like of, and the youngest man living would never see the end of*." Every one of these repeated twenty times over, and every time in the very same words, precisely in the manner of a show-man; in exactly the same tone of voice, and he being always in exactly the same attitude, and his face having always the same good-natured and self-complacent look. Not a single word to show any error in my propositions or calculations; not a single word

to show either the impracticability, the inexpediency, or the inefficiency of the measures proposed by me; but, merely, just towards the conclusion of his speech, a repetition of his assertion, that they would produce *a breaking up of our social system*, and a sort of raw-head-and-bloody-bones description of the effects which would arise from such breaking up.

Darkness happily came and snatched us up out of the "*rivers of blood*" in which he had got us up to our arm-pits. Some of his partisans gave a faint cry for lights; but hunger produced such a roar as compelled him to come to that conclusion for which the meeting had been sighing so long.

THE DIVISION.

It was become so dark, that it was necessary to bring a candle, in order that Mr. EDMONDS might see on which side the majority of hands was held up. The reader will know without my saying it, that, in a room a *hundred feet long*, a candle in the chairman's hand, could not enable him to arrive at any thing more than a guess on the subject. It was a guess; Mr. EDMONDS said he could not tell which had the majority, and he was talking of dividing the persons of the meeting right and left. That would have been impossible. Above all things in the world I wished that there might be nothing like riot or confusion. I felt that I had *done the job*: I saw that on the countenances of the audience: I almost thought I saw the seven devils of paper-money come out of the body of the possessed; and, rather than have had anything like a riot, I would have had not one single hand held up for me; and, therefore, I whispered Mr. EDMONDS and pressed him to decide for Mr. ATTWOOD, telling him that, for my own part, I did not care a straw about the matter.

And I will now state why the matter was become not worth one straw. The reader will please to observe, that the object of the discussion was, to ascertain whether the people of Birmingham, with all their local partialities, were prepared to declare in a public and so-

lemn manner, that Mr. ATTWOOD's *propositions ought to be adopted*. My scheme was before the public merely as the opinions of an *author*; but his had been communicated formally to the First Lord of the Treasury in a "*MEMORIAL*" agreed to by the COUNCIL and signed by him as chairman; therefore, the main object was to take the opinion of the meeting on these propositions, seriously intended, and really expected, *to form the basis of a legislative measure*. I had had no communication with the Ministers: we found from him, that he had been in constant intercourse with all the prime ministers ever since the year 1816. I, therefore, proposed that the first question put to the meeting should be as follows:

This meeting are of opinion, that Mr. Attwood's propositions ought to be adopted by the Government.

After this, a similar question I proposed to have put upon my propositions. No! They would not do this; Mr. ATTWOOD had the "*COUNCIL*" around him; and they all protested against this! They were all afraid, after my speech especially, to call upon the meeting to say, *that the Government ought to adopt their propositions!* They insisted upon it, that the question should be put in the following words:

This Meeting are of opinion that it would be better to adopt the propositions of Mr. ATTWOOD than those of Mr. COBBETT.

I objected to this, not because it would render it a *personal* question, though it would certainly do that, but because it would DECIDE NOTHING with regard to the merits of the proposition pressed by the "*COUNCIL*" upon my Lord GREY. The meeting, I said, might disapprove of *both propositions*. I observed, that we had no right to presume that the meeting were to approve of either; and I said, "They may regard us as two doctors, one prescribing arsenic, and the other a pound of laudanum; one with a slow poison, the other with a quick poison; and they may very reason-

"ably say, No, thank you, gentlemen; "we don't wish to be poisoned in any "way." In vain did I say, that I wished my propositions to be made a *positive* question. In vain did I hint, and pretty broadly, too, that it would argue great *apprehension* in them, if they refused to put their propositions to the meeting as a *positive* question. All would not do: they persevered till I saw that it was nothing but waste of time to endeavour longer to bring them to the test; and the question was finally put in their own way, deciding nothing at all, except merely this, that the very questionable majority of Mr. ATTWOOD proved that, in his own town, where he is a banker, and where he is very justly popular, and in an assembly composed, in some part at least, of his own devoted partisans; in an assembly, too, where the working classes were, generally speaking, necessarily excluded, *he had a few more hands held up for him than I had.* This is all that was proved by the DIVISION.

I should like to conclude without any observation reflecting on the conduct of Mr. ATTWOOD; but I see it stated in the *Birmingham Journal* of the 25th of August, which paper is (with what truth I know not) said to be the property of a banker, that he himself publicly stated, in a speech made on the day of the celebration of the reform at BIRMINGHAM, which was on the 20th of August, "that his character was public property; that he had no right to tamper with that property; that he was at that moment, and had been incessantly engaged for many years, in recommending measures to the Government; that if he had listened to the whisperings of *guilty ambition*, the road to power and honour and glory was open to him in *October* last; that the same road was open to him again, more dazzling and more certain than before, in the month of *May* last; that he had closed his eyes and his ears against the *temptations* before him; not that he shrunk from danger, but that he shrunk from GUILT; that he shrunk from the *guilty responsibility* of adding to the *miseries of the people*, and of involving

"*his country in scenes of immeasurable wo.*" This manifestly alludes to offers made him by the Ministry at the two epochs which he mentions; and Ministers have generally called their characters public property; and all the attornies-general, from the bitter and lashing, from the *vulture* GIBBS, down to the *crow*, DENMAN, have always insisted upon the same. But it is pretty clear, that one parcel or the other of this "*public property*" is now in a state of great peril. It is the common talk at BIRMINGHAM that he was offered a *place in the Ministry* at both these epochs. This is the common talk; and I can positively assert, that a gentleman actually in the employ of Mr. ATTWOOD, said that this was the fact, and said it, too, in Mr. ATTWOOD's own banking-house, while I was at BIRMINGHAM, I can prove this upon oath, and will at any time name the parties if the fact be denied. But what need we more than his own avowals in his speech? He related ~~me~~ history of his intercourse with the Ministers from 1816 to the present day. He finally related, that he had recently been beseeching one of the Ministers to adopt his scheme, and that the Minister said: "*We did monstrous injustice by PEEL'S BILL; but it is now too late to go back.*" I congratulate the country that there is so much sense as that left at WHITEHALL. Amongst the qualities, in his character as described by himself, were, "*prudence, moderation, forbearance, and discretion,*" of the extent of all which, I must leave the reader to judge. Mr. ATTWOOD's great frailty is *vulgar vanity*, and that to an excess surpassing any conception of which ordinary minds are capable. This vanity is always inseparable from *conceit* in an equal degree. He cannot bring himself to form an idea, as to the possibility of any wisdom, or talent, being equal to his own; and, he never seems to perceive, that the mutterings and wrestlings and turnings about, of his audience proceed from their listlessness and weariness from his intolerable harangues. His repetitions are so numerous and so frequently repeated, that one would almost believe him totally destitute of memory:

the same spot in the round towel comes under his eye so often, that one is led to think him as unconscious of the nature of his efforts, as is the goldfinch, which carries on the very same peckings at the wire of his prison, every hour of every day, from the first day of January to the last day of December. His vanity is of the vulgarest cast that I ever beheld. It had been agreed at the beginning of the discussion, that the audience should abstain, if they pleased, from all loud expressions, whether of approbation or disapprobation. Soon after I began to speak, there were repeated general clappings and cheerings; he rose, and *remonstrated with the chairman*, observing that that was a violation of the compact: whereupon I said to the meeting: "I hope that you will hear from me nothing to merit marks of your disapprobation, and if I should be so happy as to have the very great honour of your approbation, the most unequivocal mark that you can give me of it will be that of hearing me in *silence*." This produced, generally, the desired effect; but, at certain parts of my speech it was impossible to restrain them from a clapping and a cheering which appeared to me to create no very pleasant sensations in Mr. ATTWOOD and the "COUNCIL."

Hitherto I have been describing mere frailties in this gentleman. There were some things, however, which were really *foul*, both on his part and that of Mr. JONES. Long before we had been assembled an hour, every one saw, that, if *money* had not been taken for admittance, we could not have assembled at all. Yet, though I said nothing about it, their paragraph, in the letter accepting the invitation; that paragraph, relating to the *money-taking* and to the *sand-wheelers*, was extremely foul, if not worthy the epithet base. With regard to the money-taking, I answered one of their thoughtless partisans, in the manner before described and in the midst of the plaudits of the audience, too. I did not like to show any thing like *anger*, otherwise, I should have added, with regard to the division with the "*sand-wheelers*," I should have preferred a division with some of the hun-

dreds of thousands of poor souls, who had been reduced to beggary by the breaking of fraudulent country bankers. Before I have done I will lay the account of this *money affair* before my readers, which will show, that the "COUNCIL," who had the matter all in their own hands, know how to manage affairs of real money as well as paper-money.

But, what I complain of most is, Mr. ATTWOOD's conduct *after my lips were closed*. I attribute his refusing to submit his own project to the meeting, purely to his fears arising out of his vanity; but, in his *reply*, if such it ought to be called, there was foulness unpardonable. He asserted fifty things that were totally false; they were so grossly false, that other persons frequently cried out, "No, no, he did not say so." Not at all abashed, on he went again. I called out to him several times, "I said just the contrary of that." Not at all disconcerted, on he went pulling at the round towel. At last, I wanted, after we had got him to shut his mouth, to have *half a minute* of explanation. I wanted to say: "Be pleased to mark, gentlemen, that Mr. ATTWOOD called my speech a *tissue of sophistries*, and pledged himself to prove them such; that I have stated, distinctly, *twenty-two* reasons for objecting to his project, and that he has *not even alluded to any one of them*." After I had listened to him and Mr. JONES for *more than seven hours*, he refused *half a minute* of explanation to me; and he shook like an aspen-leaf at the thought of it, saying to the chairman, "If Mr. COBBETT explains, I will explain, too; and I have got notes for two hours' explanation." This, not to call it cowardly, not to call it dastardly, was foul in the extreme; and it only shows to what lengths vulgar vanity will push a very kind, frank, good-tempered, and even liberal man.

Situated as I was, it became me not to be offended, or, at least, not to discover displeasure, at any thing which did not tend to defeat my object, which was, as I said before, to lay this BIRMINGHAM devil of paper-money in the Red Sea; otherwise, I should have noticed the very uncourteous behaviour

on the part of the COUNCIL, in depriving me almost of room to sit myself down upon. On each side of the chairman there was room for three or four persons. There was a small table for the chairman, which Mr. ATTWOOD, who was close on his right-hand, took for his own use. To me was allotted just room enough on the bench to sit, without room to twist up my legs alternately upon my knees, the COUNCIL occupying the whole of the rest of the bench, making it impossible for me to write with pencil upon a bit of paper, without some one of them seeing what I was at.

But, and now I come to the pleasing part of my task, and I wish I were able to describe, in a manner adequate to my feelings, and to their merits, the good manners, the great indulgence, the quick perception, and the most judicious conduct of this audience. For two whole hours these fourteen hundred persons sat, or stood (for hundreds were obliged to stand) without appearing to move, hand or foot, or, for one single moment to turn any of their eyes from my eyes. I am a very *skittish* fellow as to this matter. When I have been unlucky enough to see people turning to one another to *causé*, as the French call it, or to shift much in their seats; whenever I have been unlucky enough to receive these admonitory signs, I have always hastened to a conclusion. Not one sign of this sort did I see for this my two hours' address, from this most respectable audience, in whose faces I could see clearly depicted the impression that I had made upon their minds; and, I shall always carry with me, as long as

I live, the highest respect for the celebrated town in which I was so honoured, and compared to which honour there is nothing that kings or governments can give, upon which I set the value of a straw. The holding up of hands, at last, did, as I saw before, decide nothing relative to the question at issue. All the meeting felt, ninety-nine hundredths of them have said, that I had demolished Mr. ATTWOOD's project for ever. If he had a majority of hands held up, they were raised by a feeling partly composed of personal respect, and partly of *compassion*. To me the whole meeting knew, that a vote on such a question was a matter of indifference; but they knew that it was a *serious matter* with him. This circumstance, therefore, does not make the smallest deduction from my respect for, and gratitude to, this audience, of whom I now take my leave, expressing my hope, that I may meet with other such in the NORTH, but with being quite sure to meet with none that shall have higher claims to my respect and admiration.

MONEY AFFAIR.

I SHALL simply observe, that the COUNCIL managed all this matter *just as they pleased*; and now I insert the account of "*receipts and expenditure*," which is really very much of the character of our national "*receipts and expenditure*!" I should think that the *public* get much about the same proportion laid out for its use, as fall to my share here. The account was made out and delivered to my amanuensis at Mr. ATTWOOD's own house.

RECEIPTS AT MR. BEARDSWORTH'S REPOSITORY.

Aug. 28 and 29th,
1832.

	£.	s.	d.
1st day's collection.....	62	16	0
2nd ditto ditto	4	11	0
	67	7	0

EXPENDITURE. £. s. d.

Mr. Beardsworth's bill for use of the Repository, and his ten men	16	10	0
Aldridge, carpenter, fitting up Repository	9	0	0
Mr. Dobbs, lighting up Repository, use of <i>painting</i> , and men employed.....	4	0	0
Door-keepers, collectors, check-takers, and <i>refreshments</i>	4	15	0
Balance in hand.....	33	2	0
	£.	s.	d.
For Mr. Cobbett....	16	11	0
Sand-wheelers	16	11	0
	67	7	0

As I return to London, I shall stop again at BIRMINGHAM, if I possibly can, in order to deliver an address or two to the *working men* and the electors, and particularly the former; but some friend will be so good as to find a place where so much national expenditure will not be necessary. Mr. BEARDSWORTH'S establishment is on too magnificent a scale for humble persons. At any rate, I think I am entitled to know whether the poor "*sand-wheelers*" have really got this 16*l.* 11*s.*

POLITICAL COUNCIL.

When Mr. ATTWOOD was telling his townsmen, on the 20th of August, that he might have been a Minister, or, in other words, that the road "to power, honour, and glory, was opened to him IN THE MONTH OF MAY LAST," I wonder whether those townsmen recollected THE CURIOUS CONDUCT OF THE COUNCIL IN THAT MONTH OF MAY LAST! Whether they recollected its *surprising silence* from the 13th of April to the middle of May, while GLASGOW, PAISLEY, NEWCASTLE, MORPETH, LEEDS, MANCHESTER, DUDLEY, and all the other great towns in the kingdom, were in a stir against the project for raising the ten-pound suffrage! The whole nation exclaimed, "What is BIRMINGHAM about?" "What are the BIRMINGHAM 'COUNCIL' about?" Why, as I said then, and as we now find, the BIRMINGHAM COUNCIL saw, or thought they saw, the road to "*honour, power and glory*" opening to them! My readers will remember the vigilance with which I watched them; they will remember my publication about Mr. PARKES'S DECLARATION! As plain as I could say it without having a certain knowledge of the fact, I said, that the Ministers had promised them a reward, *if they could keep the rest of the nation quiet by their example.* I said this as plainly as I could say it without being able to swear to the fact. Aye, and they would have done it, too, for a while, at least, if I, the watchman, had not been in the tower! Curious, that the proof of this

should have come out in this manner; but vulgar vanity was never yet associated with discretion; and, like other things, mischievous in themselves, it seldom fails to administer, in the end, a cure for the mischiefs which it is calculated to do. Oh! how right I was with regard to "*the Council's*" acting (in April and May) as *tools in the hands of the Ministers!* My readers will remember that just after WELLINGTON had been driven off from his attempt to be minister again, the BIRMINGHAM COUNCIL issued a formal "*DECLARATION*" that WELLINGTON *ought to be kept out of the King's councils for ever*; that this declaration was signed by Mr. ATTWOOD, as chairman; that there was subjoined to it an exhortation of the COUNCIL, *for everybody, everywhere, to sign this "declaration";* that a circular was sent by the secretary to conspicuous persons, all over the country, and *to me amongst others*; that I refused to sign it, and gave very good reasons for it. To the reasons which I gave I might have added my pure conviction, that the declaration was issued at the express suggestion, and by the express desire of the Ministers. We now find, that, at the very time when this declaration was put forth, Mr. ATTWOOD was, according to his own account now given, offered "*POWER, HONOUR, AND GLORY.*" My sincere opinion is, that the whole of the COUNCIL, or, at least, his branch of it, were offered places or emoluments of some sort or other, at the same time; that is to say, that they were, by the crafty and double-dealing fellows of WHITEHALL, *led to believe*, that they all should have places! I will venture to say, that Mr. ATTWOOD himself never had a *distinct* promise or offer. Those gentry know how to effect their purposes, without exposing themselves to a charge of *breach of promise*: they know how to make *tools* without committing themselves either to blade or handle: not a *scrap of paper*; not a single *verbal phrase*, can he bring against any one of them! Oh, how truly did I describe all their tricks, and how opportunely did I warn the country against the BIRMINGHAM UNION in my

Register of the 20th of April! I beg my readers to observe, the history of the fall of this POLITICAL COUNCIL. Until the affair of the *ten-pound suffrage* they had prodigious weight in the country: the fellows at WHITEHALL saw that; therefore, they flattered them, shook their hands, *breakfasted* them, talked as familiarly with them as if they were already brother tax-eaters, *hinted at the great good that they were capable of doing*, gave obscure hints, leaving them to draw conclusions of their great fitness to taking a part in "*his Majesty's Government*," told them *secrets*, that all their footmen had known for several days before. But, when I, by my exposures, of *April and May*, had taken the influence out of the hands of the "COUNCIL;" when I had stirred the other great towns while BIRMINGHAM was silent; when, in short, I had taken from the COUNCIL all power of leading the nation by the nose; when I had done this, then the fellows of WHITEHALL cast the Council aside, as we cast aside (very ungratefully) the peel of an orange, when we have sucked out the juice; or, as we, in the fields, used to fling the bottle into the hedge with every mark of disregard, when we had drunk out the beer. When the *full* bottle hung upon the crook, we used to trudge along to the field very contentedly with it, thinking nothing of its weight: there was a sort of rivalry, who should have the pleasure of carrying it: but, at night, when the bottle was empty, I have had many a quarrel with my brothers about which should carry it home; many a long and elaborate speech to prove that it was injustice to impose the burden upon me. Thus it has been with the "COUNCIL" and WHITEHALL, where, I will be bound to say, there has been not a little wrangling about who should have the job of *getting rid of the "COUNCIL."* Accordingly we find, that, since that time, the "COUNCIL" has been cast out of WHITEHALL. Mind, in *October last*, they presented their "MEMORIAL," of which the public heard not a word until the *30th of July*, it being confined entirely to the breasts of the "COUNCIL" at BIRMINGHAM and the "COUNCIL" at

WHITEHALL; but, after the latter had cast off the former, out comes the "MEMORIAL," printed by the former, in order to "*shame the rogues*" at WHITEHALL. Some poet says, that "*hell has no fury like love to hatred turned*;" and, the MIDLAND "COUNCIL" now really seem as if they could cut off the heads of the other "COUNCIL" with a hand-saw. Ah! but the SOUTHERN "COUNCIL" know that they are *impotent*! They know well, that their influence is gone; that they are rather *more than suspected*; aye, and whatever the BIRMINGHAM "COUNCIL" may think of it now, I beg it to keep its temper, if WHITEHALL should turn about, and *take great merit to itself with the people, for having disdained to have any thing to do with the mischievous projects of the "COUNCIL" of BIRMINGHAM!* If this should be the case, I beg the "COUNCIL" not to fall into fits. Ah! endless are the troubles of those who once step their foot into the buildings of WHITEHALL; buildings which I have always shunned, as one ought to shun the gates of hell. How long ago should I have been rendered powerless, if I had ever darkened the door of a minister, ever conversed with one, or ever stepped my foot, only for one moment, into any one of the buildings under their control! After these observations, it would be to act unfairly towards Mr. ATTWOOD not to insert his speech of the 20th of August, which I shall now do. In my next, I shall give him *another invitation*; and, in the meanwhile, I promise, that, on my return from the NORTH, I will again stop at BIRMINGHAM, and there say, in public, and before his face, if he choose to come, all that I have said here.

N. B. The *Birmingham Journal*, of the 1st Sept., conducted by Mr. GREAT-HEAD LEWIS, says, that there were TEN TO ONE for Mr. ATTWOOD. This paper is, I am told, the property of Mr. JOSHUA SCHOLEFIELD, the BANKER, and fellow-candidate with Mr. ATTWOOD. The same, I hear, is said in the base daily papers of London. This is all natural, especially in that wretched thing called the *Morning Herald*, and

in which this Mr. GREATHEAD LEWIS was employed before he came to BIRMINGHAM. I saw the London *Reporters* bestowing sycophantic smiles on Mr. ATTWOOD, junior, and handing him over little *billets-doux* while his father was inflicting mortal sufferance on fourteen hundred innocent persons. My opinion is, that, if Mr. EDMONDS, the chairman, were to write a contradiction of this lie, the villanous papers in London would not insert his contradiction, and that Mr. GREATHEAD LEWIS would not dare to do it. I dare say, that the factions hug themselves in the thought, that a similar game can be carried on with respect to debates in *Parliament*, in case *I should be there*. Oh! how they deceive themselves, if they do think this. If they think this, what children they are! No, no! the game of fraud will then be at an end: *reporting* will at once cease to be that corrupt trade which it has been for the last forty years. In the next *Register* I will point out the means by which I will defeat this villanous combination, which, if suffered to exist, would not only cause the suppression of *speeches*, but the suppression of *motions*, resolutions, bills moved for, returns, and every thing else really interesting to the public. Let the public be assured that, if I be in *Parliament* I will break up and disperse this pestiferous swarm of gin-drinking vermin.

MR. ATTWOOD'S SPEECH

To the People of Birmingham, 20th August, 1832; taken from the Birmingham Journal of the 25th of August.

After the procession had paraded through the principal streets, (previously announced in hand-bills) it halted in New-street. Mr. Attwood and Dr. Wade appeared at an upper window. Mr. Attwood, by a motion of his hand, signified his intention to address the crowd, and silence was immediately obtained. He thanked them most sincerely for these gratifying testimonies of their confidence and esteem. He regretted very much that he should have found it is duty to abstain from placing himself at their head on this great and interesting occasion; but he could assure them that he took the most sincere pleasure in perceiving that they could exhibit patriotism and public spirit, and order, and enthusiasm in the public cause without being instigated

by him. Where were now the lies and calumnies of those who attributed the excitement of the public mind to *his* influence and agitation? The excitement of the public mind was owing to the hoarded wrongs and injuries of the nation, and to the sense, intellect, and virtue of the people, who were determined that those wrongs and injuries should at length be redressed. He (Mr. A.) had in fact himself been urged on by this high and glorious determination of the people, more than he had been instrumental in exciting *them*. He rejoiced that this great and magnificent procession of his brave and virtuous friends should give ample proof of this great truth. He rejoiced also to perceive that the men of Birmingham had enough of wise and able leaders to guide them well, in the event of any misfortune happening to him and his friends upon the Council. Not one of those gentlemen was present upon this great occasion, and yet he rejoiced to perceive that the procession was conducted with the same order, regularity, and effect which had always distinguished the members and friends of the Political Union. A few weeks ago, in the hour of their country's trial, he had *been told that he should be kidnapped by military force in the dead of the night*, and that thus the *power of the Union* would be *paralyzed*. To this he answered, "Look at the members of the Council. Will not they *supply my place*?" "Yes," was the answer. "But the members of the Council will *all be kidnapped*, and then the Union will be without a head!" He rejoiced to see there, living proof before his eyes, that even under this *extreme position*, which was scarcely practicable, the members of the Union would still have found brave and able leaders, fully competent to do them and their country justice. Rejoicing as he did in this great truth, and in this great exhibition of public spirit, order, and virtue, he was the more satisfied with the prudence and discretion of his own conduct and that of the Council. In declining to take part in the procession, two objects had thus been accomplished; the men of Birmingham had shown *public spirit and patriotism*, and the members of the Council had shown *prudence and discretion*. If they had called the meeting themselves, in all probability vast masses of their generous countrymen would have crowded into Birmingham from distant towns; and although he was himself not much disposed to believe in the contagious character of *cholera*, yet he fully expected that this alarming disease would shortly reach Birmingham, and probably carry off some hundreds of victims; and in that case he was quite sure, that if he had persisted in holding the meeting, in defiance of the warnings which he had received, the deaths of those victims would most certainly have been charged upon *him*. It was not right that he should expose his character to so serious a charge,—to a charge of having sacrificed the lives of his fellow-townsmen, for the gratification of what might be termed his own personal vanity and

love of popularity. He felt that in the situation in which he stood, his character for prudence, moderation, forbearance, and discretion was public property; and that under the urgent circumstances in which the country was placed, he had no right to tamper with that property. He had therefore, for a moment, exposed himself to the displeasure of many of his friends, in order that he might the more permanently deserve and ensure their confidence and that of their country. In so doing, he had exercised, upon a small scale, the same forbearance, humanity, and true patriotism, as he had endeavoured to exercise during his whole life, and more particularly during the twelve months now passed. If he had listened to the whisperings of a guilty ambition, the road to power and honour and unhallowed glory was open to him in October last. *The same road was again opened, more dazzling and more certain than before, in the month of May last. He had closed his eyes and his ears against the prospects and the temptations before him, not that he shrunk from danger, but that he shrunk from guilt—he shrunk from the guilty responsibility of adding more to the miseries of the people—of breaking up their trade and their means of employment—of involving his country in scenes of unmeasurable woe.* By holding fast to this line of conduct, he had been instrumental in assisting to obtain the most glorious victory which a nation ever obtained over its oppressors—a victory untought by a single tear—unstained by a single drop of blood. He trusted that the prudence and moderation which he had thus displayed under great emergencies, and under minor circumstances, would be a proof to them that no love of popularity, and no fascinations of personal ambition, could induce him to lead them astray. And he trusted that if ever the day should come (which God avert) when it might possibly become his painful duty to adopt a different line of conduct, they would all of them be convinced, that nothing but the very last extremity of his country's need could possibly urge him to such a dreadful alternative. At the awful period which he contemplated as possible to occur, he trusted that his fellow-countrymen would derive proof from his present and past conduct, that in any future measures which he might possibly recommend, he should not be animated by *any vain, selfish, or ambitious interests of his own.* He looked only to the positive and permanent happiness of the people. If this permanent happiness should be restored, all his views would be gratified. *He was at that moment, and had been incessantly engaged for many years, in recommending measures to the Government which he knew would restore the mass of the people to prosperity, but which would, at the same time, consign him to a peaceful obscurity all the rest of his life.* If he were selfish, sordid, or ambitious, it was his interest to “*let the distress go on,*” for in the general confusion which must shortly ensue,

few men would have a better chance than himself of “*riding in the whirlwind,*” although, God knew, it was sufficiently doubtful how long he might be enabled “*to direct the storm.*” He trusted, however, that all these gloomy anticipations were in a great degree neutralised by the passing of the bill of reform. That great measure was not indeed complete. It did not give the people the full amount of their just constitutional rights; nor did it, indeed, secure to them the full measure of the liberty which it promised them. The 10^l. franchise was *clogged* with many difficulties which they were not given to expect. These difficulties, he trusted, would be removed on the opening of the reformed Parliament. He trusted, also, that the great question of triennial Parliaments, and of vote by ballot, *which the Ministers themselves had left open for future settlement,* would shortly be settled in a way satisfactory to the people. In this shape the bill of reform, if it gave prosperity and contentment to the mass of the people, would be quite satisfactory to him. For he judged of the excellence of particular systems of legislation by the positive benefits which they produced to the mass of the people, and not by any abstract or ideal notions of theoretical perfection or imperfection in such systems. If, therefore, the bill of reform should lead to measures which ensured the prosperity and contentment of the mass of the people, it would, in that case, give entire satisfaction to him. He would therefore give the bill of reform a fair trial. But he begged to be understood, that if it did not produce the fruit of general prosperity and contentment, in a very short period, it would give no satisfaction to him. In that case he should be prepared to recommend measures, at a proper time, which would quickly ensure the peaceful and legal obtaining of universal suffrage for the people, and would at the same time most certainly have the effect of either restoring the general prosperity, or of bringing the oppressors of the people to sleep in the same bed with their victims. He had told them three years ago, at Mr. Beardsworth's, that reform of itself would not restore prosperity to the industrious classes; but he told them that it would certainly compel the palace to do justice to the cottage, or otherwise bring the palace to one common ruin with the cottage. He trusted, however, that the bill of reform would shortly lead to measures which would produce justice and prosperity to all classes. In that case, he was himself pledged to be content, and as a member of the Political Union, he could not further labour in exciting the public mind to political objects. But if the mass of the people were not made *prosperous and contented,* he was under no such pledge. He should in that case firmly persevere in demanding *further political change*; and if the Union continued to act as they had hitherto done, he doubted not that they would legally and peacefully obtain the *universal suffrage of the*

British people. Mr. A. then reminded the people that it was under the banners of *peace, law, and order*, that they had gathered up their strength. If they had broken out into any illegal, violent, or disgraceful acts, the public confidence would have deserted them, their arm would have been paralyzed, and they would have been crushed like the rioters of Bristol. By the system which the men of Birmingham had acted upon, they had secured the confidence and support of the whole British people, and in this way they had become so strong that their enemies durst not attack them. The Duke of Wellington did not want the *good-will* to put them down, but he wanted the *power*. If he had ventured to play Polignac upon them he would have been crushed, under the power of the people, as an elephant would crush a worm. He earnestly urged the men of Birmingham always to keep these great truths in mind, and never to suffer themselves to be betrayed into conduct which might injure their cause, and compromise the confidence and support of the nation. Mr. A. then concluded by thanking the assembled thousands for the attention with which they had heard them, and by expressing his earnest wishes for the liberty, prosperity and happiness of them and their children for ever. Mr. Attwood then called for *three groans for the infernal German Political Union*, which was immediately answered by three of the most tremendous groans we ever had the honour or the satisfaction of hearing.

Manchester, 3d September, 1832.

I STOPPED on my road, one night at BARTON, and two nights at WOLSELEY. To night I shall have the honour to meet my committees, and to-morrow I shall regularly open the campaign against the tax-eater, the paper-money grinder, and the *tallow-merchant privy-councillor*. I have no time to say any thing more; but, in the way of information to my readers as to what is going on in Lancashire, I will insert, as relating to BOLTON (to which place I shall go very soon), first, Mr. Wm. EAGLE's address to the electors of that place; and next, a categorical appeal to the electors by the opponents of TORRENS.

TO THE ELECTORS OF BOLTON.

GENTLEMEN,—Having received a requisition from a numerous and respectable body of electors of your populous and public-spirited town, requesting me to become a candidate for the honour of being elected one of its representatives in the reformed Parliament, I beg leave most respectfully to announce to

you my compliance with the requisition, and to lay before you a short declaration of my political principles and opinions.

I have been long convinced that excessive taxation, imposed by a series of corrupt Parliaments is a paramount grievance of this kingdom, and the cause of that unexampled distress and misery under which the great body of the people are now groaning; and, therefore, if I should be elected a member of the reformed Parliament, it will be my first endeavour to cause a reduction of the taxes to a very great extent; and, in particular, I shall vote for a bona fide and absolute repeal, without commutation or substitution, of the assessed taxes, the taxes on malt, hops, and soap, and the stamp taxes on periodical publications. By these, and all other means within my power, I shall endeavour to accomplish the reduction of the standing army, and to put an end to all unmerited pensions and sinecures; barracks, military schools, and the other profligate heads of expenditure by which the aristocracy have been so long enabled to devour the fruits of the labour and toil of the industrious classes of the community.

With respect to the duration of Parliaments, I shall vote for the repeal of the act called the Septennial Act, in order to obtain a restoration of Triennial Parliaments.

In regard to the tithes, it is, I believe, pretty generally known that I am a most determined enemy to that execrable system, and whether in or out of Parliament, I shall continue to use every exertion to procure an absolute and unqualified abolition of them; and as to church reform, I shall support a law to exclude the bishops and clergy from the exercise of every species of temporal power, and to abolish those horrible tribunals called the ecclesiastical courts.

As to the corn-laws, I am persuaded, that under the present system of taxation they are absolutely necessary; but after taking off the assessed taxes, the taxes on malt, hops, and soap, and the abolition of tithes, I think that the corn-laws ought to be repealed.

With respect to the general duties of a member of the House of Commons, I think that he is, properly, the agent of those who send him to Parliament, and bound to act conformably to their wishes. I am also of opinion that electors have an undoubted right to require pledges from candidates, and that this practice is in perfect conformity with the representative system; and, moreover, that in the present state of affairs, the exaction of specific pledges is absolutely necessary for the salvation of the country; and, in short that it is the duty of a member in the House of Commons at all times, and in all things, to obey the instructions of the majority of his constituents, or, upon their request to resign his seat.

I have the honour to be, gentlemen,

Your very obedient servant,

WM. EAGLE.

Lakenheath, Suffolk, Aug. 24th, 1832.

TO THE ELECTORS OF BOLTON!

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

Who is a tax-eater?—Colonel Torrens!

Who, in 1809, supported household suffrage and triennial parliaments, and in 1822 opposed them?—Colonel Torrens!

Who, in 1815, wrote a book in favour of an abolition of the corn-laws, and in 1831, not only spoke against it, but voted against even an inquiry?—Colonel Torrens!

Who voted for the dissection of the poor man's body?—Colonel Torrens!

Who is it that has been in the Political Economy club for the last fifteen years, and has regularly voted the people's money away whilst in Parliament?—Colonel Torrens!

Who was it that supported the administration of George Canning, through thick and thin, through the medium of the *Globe* newspaper, though Canning declared he would resist reform, let it come in what shape it would, to the last day of his life?—Colonel Torrens!

Who was it that was returned for Ipswich in 1826, and was turned out for bribery after sitting six weeks?—Colonel Torrens!

Who voted against an inquiry into the Manchester massacre?—Colonel Torrens!

Who said in one place in his canvass he was a freemason, and in another an odd-fellow; but if report says true, he is an Orangeman?—Colonel Torrens!

Who says the poor man must regulate the number of his family according to the amount of wages he can earn?—Colonel Torrens!

Who advanced 170*l.* to the editor of the *Bolton Chronicle* to support Colonel Torrens?—Ask Mr. Trevor.

Who are the stupid party that believe every promise that a sinecurist makes?—The supporters of Colonel Torrens.

Who are they that have been bawling and roaring for a quarter of a century, for the abolition of pensions, sinecurist grants, and a host of other abuses, and now, like senseless hounds, lick the hand that scourges them?—The supporters of Colonel Torrens!

NON-ELECTORS

OF BIRMINGHAM.

"SIR,—Deputed by the Committee
"of NON-ELECTORS to present to you
"this our address, we respectfully re-
"quest your acceptance of our heart-
"felt thanks, the only offering, which,
"as working men, we have to offer;
"and we flatter ourselves, that, to one
"who has so long, so nobly, and so
"consistently, advocated our cause,
"these thanks, though plainly ex-
"pressed, will not be unacceptable;

"and also indulging the fond hope,
"that the day is not far distant, when
"the nation only having the disposal of
"national reward, we shall be enabled
"to evince our gratitude to you, Sir,
"in a more substantial but not more
"sincere manner than we now do. It
"is true, that, the address I now hold
"in my hand, is as humble and plain
"in its exterior as is the source from
"whence it emanates; our sentiments
"are not presented to you inscribed in
"letters of 'refined gold,' nor on
"rolls of satin, whose whiteness rivals
"the lily; nor is it saturated with
"the odours of 'the violet;' its sin-
"cerity, Sir, is its only perfume, its
"truth its only value.

The above is the speech, adverted to before, which was made to me by the young man who was the spokesman of the deputation. The matter of it the reader will be able to judge of; the manner of it was, in every respect, equal to the matter. Again I say, that it is impossible that dunder-headed paper-money grinders can long continue to be the masters of men like these. I never was more delighted in my life, than I was with the conduct of these young men. Were there only ten such in every town in England, the country never would sink. As I have said a thousand times, England is full of such men, and they all do me the infinite honour to ascribe their knowledge to me. I do not disclaim my right to it: such and so long labours merit even this honour, compared to which all that the king has to bestow, or all the kings of the earth have to bestow, is not worth one straw.

[The following was received from Mr. Cobbett on Saturday the 1st inst., but too late for insertion in last week's Register].

BIRMINGHAM DEBATE.

Barton, Staffordshire, 30th of August, 1832.

In the next Register I shall give a full account of this whole affair. On Tuesday evening Mr. Attwood spoke

for *four hours and a quarter*; on Wednesday evening Mr. JONES spoke *an hour and a half*, I believe; at least *an hour*. I then made my speech of just *two hours'* length; then came Mr. ATTWOOD with a reply of rather more than *two hours*, put an end to at last by darkness so great as to require candles to be brought in to be held up, in order that the chairman might distinguish which had the majority on the division. With respect to that division the chairman was *in doubt*, and something was said about taking the division by placing the persons assembled on the two opposite sides of the room; when I whispered to Mr. EDMONDS, the chairman, and begged him to decide at once in favour of Mr. ATTWOOD; for that I myself did not care one straw about the matter. He then so decided.

The whole of these proceedings are of a most interesting nature. I was anxious only to cure BIRMINGHAM of the *rag mania*, and that I have effectually done. After "*Puddle in a Storm*," and "*King Tom in his Tantrums*;" after all that I had said about the BIRMINGHAM COUNCIL, I could not, in my way to the NORTH, *slip along by the side of Birmingham*, nor go silently through it, without departing from the practice of my whole life, which has been that of never saying behind a man's back that which I will not say to his face. But my main object was to demolish the paper-scheme of Mr. ATTWOOD at BIRMINGHAM itself; and this I have effectually done. The room was about a hundred feet long, and about thirty feet wide, and there were present, to hear my speech, about fourteen hundred people, great part of whom were persons of considerable property and weight in society, many of them coming from a considerable distance; and I am satisfied that nine-tenths of the persons present went away perfectly convinced that Mr. ATTWOOD's project is little short of a mark of madness, and that any minister that shall dare to adopt it *will deserve to be hanged*. I have no time now, and my printers will have no time for anything more at present; but I will

just mention one occurrence, which will enable my readers to judge of the magnitude of the fears of my opponents. Mr. ATTWOOD began his reply by saying that my whole speech consisted of "*a tissue of sophistries*." At the end of his two hours' reply I begged hard for *half a minute* to explain; and I intended to say just this: "Mr. ATTWOOD began "by telling you that my speech consisted of nothing but a tissue of sophistries, and promised you to prove that to you. My speech consisted of observations on *twenty-two* topics, always coming to a conclusion, proving the badness of his project; all very distinctly laid before you; and Mr. ATTWOOD has not even alluded to any *one* of the twenty-two; but has only given you another *round-towel* harangue upon the disastrous effects of PEEL's Bill." The chairman observed to Mr. ATTWOOD "that, after I had had the prudence to listen to my opponents for *seven hours*, it was not too much to allow me half a minute for an explanation." "Then," said Mr. ATTWOOD, "I must have a right to explain, too; and I have got *notes* that it would take me *two hours* to explain upon." Upon hearing which I, frightened out of my life, exclaimed, "Oh, Lord! oh, Lord! I don't want to explain."

My readers will know how great my gratification must have been at seeing fourteen hundred persons sitting, or standing, in profound silence to hear me for two whole hours; my voice, though not loud, is very clear, and my articulation distinct; every one heard every word, and, therefore, every one was attentive; and when my readers come to have the matter of my speech before them, they will all be satisfied that the dunder-headed devil of paper-money is totally destroyed at BIRMINGHAM; and that any minister who shall dare to attempt to put in execution the project of Mr. ATTWOOD, will deserve to swing on a gibbet. I could not have destroyed this devil so effectually in any other way. BIRMINGHAM was possessed of him. Recently, seven other devils in the persons of the Coun-

oil seem to have joined the original demon. I have driven them out from this poor possessed town: whether they will now go into a herd of swine I know not; but I confess that I shall be a little shy of WARWICKSHIRE or STAFFORDSHIRE pork for some time to come. I am stopping in this village to-day to see some plantations of my CORN, and some fields cultivated according to the book of Mr. TULL, republished and so strongly recommended by me,

WM. COBBETT.

N.B. There were some London *Reporters* present, *without my knowledge at the time*. I saw them exchanging notes with some of "*the Council*." My readers will see whether they *justly* report my speech; for I will do it, and appeal to fourteen hundred persons for my correctness. I cannot dismiss this article without expressing my admiration of the good manners of this audience.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, AUGUST 31, 1832.

BANKRUPTCY ENLARGED.

MAUD, W., Bradford, Yorkshire, grocer.

BANKRUPTS.

BLOKE, J., New-road, Hammersmith, market-gardener.

EMMERSON, J., Chalk Foot, Cumberland, shoemaker.

HALL, J., Molesworth-place, Kentish-town, picture-dealer.

JORDAN, W., Worcester, coal-dealer.

ADDOCKS, J., Wem, Shropshire, builder.

NEWTON, M. and M. S., Kensington, school-mistresses.

EPPERELL, R., Portsea, butcher.

AWLINGS, J.D., High Holborn, auctioneer.

HORT, W. M., Martin's-lane, Cannon-st., sworn-broker.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

MILLER, A. and J., Strathaven, yarn-merch.

COTT, J. B., Leith, brewer.

TUESDAY, SEPT. 4, 1832.

INSOLVENT.

MARSHALL, W. and J. E., Horton, Bradford, Yorkshire, worsted-spinners.

BANKRUPTS.

FRANCIS, W., King-street, Bristol, builder.

FRASER, J., Leadenhall-street, ships' hearth-manufacturer.

FOSTER, M., Liverpool, chemist.

HEWES, W., Newark-upon-Trent, miller.

PATTEN, W., Heaton Norris, Lancashire, druggist.

PUCKRIDGE, B. W., Southampton, coach-maker.

SHARP, F. and L. B. T., Brighton, lodging-house-keepers.

WISDEN, J., late of Brighton, builder.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, SEPT. 3.—Having a great deal of rain last Tuesday and Wednesday, we had a brisk demand for wheat on the latter day, when a considerable quantity of old, as well as all that appeared of new, was readily disposed of, at an advance of 2s. to 3s. per qr. on the quotations of Monday, but a favourable change in the weather subsequently taking place, the trade became very heavy on Friday, when the terms of Wednesday could not be procured, by very nearly the advance that then was realised. The supply this morning from Essex, Kent, and Suffolk, was large, particularly from the former county, but the quality was not so fine as we had in the previous week, although far superior to any of last year's growth. A few picked samples sold from 1s. to 2s. per qr. higher than on this day se'nnight, but for the general runs no advance could be obtained, nor did they go off freely. Fine old wheat may be noted from 1s. to 2s. per qr. dearer, in consequence of a demand from the northern counties, arising from the unfavourableness of the weather in that district, and the backward state of the harvest.

We had a few parcels of new barley from Suffolk, and a tolerable show of samples from Kent; the former were of very fine quality, and obtained 32s.; but those from the latter county were exceedingly coarse, and were offered at 35s.

The oat trade was heavy, but fully supported last week's prices.

In beans and peas there was no alteration.

Wheat	60s. to 64s.
Rye	32s. to 34s.
Barley	28s. to 30s.
— fine	36s. to 38s.
Peas, White	38s. to 40s.
— Boilers	38s. to —s.
— Grey	37s. to 40s.
Beans, Small	38s. to 40s.
— Tick	32s. to 34s.
Oats, Potato	21s. to 22s.
— Feed	21s. to 22s.
Flour, per sack	50s. to 55s.

PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, new, 45s. to 46s. per cwt.
— Sides, new ... 50s. to 55s.
Pork, India, new ... 132s. 0d. to —s.
Pork, Mess, new ... 77s. 0d. to —s. per barl.
Butter, Belfast ... —s. to —s. per cwt.
— Carlow ... 80s. to 82s.
— Cork ... 80s. to 81s.
— Limerick ... 80s. to 82s.
— Waterford ... 76s. to 78s.
— Dublin ... —s. to —s.
Cheese, Cheshire ... 52s. to 78s.
— Gloucester, Double ... 52s. to 62s.
— Gloucester, Single ... 40s. to 48s.
— Edam ... 40s. to 48s.
— Gouda ... 40s. to 48s.
Hams, Irish ... 55s. to 76s.

SMITHFIELD.—Sept. 3.

This day's supply of beasts (the most numerous one recollected to have been exhibited on a St. Bartholomew Fair day) and calves was good; of sheep, lambs, and porkers, rather limited. As the sellers were anxious to sell, and the buyers to buy, for the purpose of getting the stock out of the market before "Lady Holland's mob" entered it, the trade was, with each kind of meat, somewhat brisk, at Friday's quotations.

As nearly as we could ascertain, on account of a great part of the area of the market being occupied by show-booths, toy and gingerbread-stalls, &c., and consequent huddled and imperfect state of the supply, for a full third of which there was not room, only as the other parts were diminished by being sold and turned out, full two-thirds of the beasts were about equal numbers of the different short-horned and Irish breeds, chiefly oxen, steers, and heifers; a sixth about equal numbers of Welsh runts and Devons; the remainder Herefords, a few Scots, Town's-end cows, &c. About two-thirds of the sheep and lambs appeared to be Downs and Leicester half-breds; about a sixth Kents and Kentish half-breds; the remainder sundry other polled breeds.

Beasts, 2,490; sheep and lambs, 22,950; calves, 161; pigs, 210.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, Sept. 7.

The arrivals this week are moderate. The market dull, but without any alteration in prices.

THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent. Cons. Ann. }	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur.
	84½	83½	84½	84½	84½	84½

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